

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
STUDIES IN MEDIAEVAL HISTORY
NEW SERIES
VOLUME II

SAINT BRAULIO, BISHOP OF SARAGOSSA
(631-651)
HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS

A DISSERTATION

*Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of the Catholic University of America in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

BY

CHARLES H. LYNCH, M. A.
Priest of the Diocese of Providence

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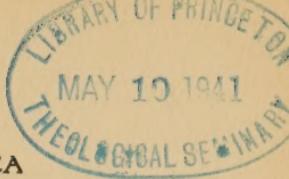
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Saint Braulio, bishop of
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Nihil obstat

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER, S.T.D.

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and Ignatius Smith, O.P., as readers.

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To

MY MOTHER AND FATHER

PREFACE

THE seventh century of the Christian era was undeniably a dark age. No matter what the column one may consult in an historical chart of civilization from 500 B. C. on, the years 600-700 A. D. are the least productive in names and events, both in the East and in the West. Of the countries in that period, the one that showed the most sustained intellectual effort was Spain. Civilization there was relatively far advanced due principally to an internal solidarity of Hispano-roman and Visigoth, of Church and State, with the numerous Toledan church councils of a quasi-civil nature constituting the chief unifying force. Although one's thoughts turn instinctively to St. Isidore of Seville as the individual responsible for this condition, the truth is that such an advance follows in the wake of many leaders. Some of the Visigothic kings played an enlightened part, but particularly it was the bishops who led: John of Biclar, John of Saragossa, Braulio, Eugene II, Tajo, Fructuosus, Ildefonse, and Julian.

Among these bishops the figure of St. Braulio stands out in relief and he has been made the subject of the present study. This bishop of Saragossa, because of his innate ability and because of the prestige he enjoyed as the friend and counsellor of Isidore, should be considered second only to Isidore in his influence on the Spanish civilization of his century. Braulio succeeded Isidore as the outstanding figure in Spanish ecclesiastical and civil circles from 636-651. His influence extended beyond his death and was felt through the persons of leaders he had formed, notably Eugene II of Toledo and Tajo of Saragossa.

A detailed study of Braulio's life and writings should throw considerable light on his period. No one has ever essayed such

a study. Manuel Risco in the eighteenth century presented a creditable survey of both when in volume 30 of *España sagrada* he made available for the first time Braulio's chief literary contribution, the entire corpus of his forty-four Letters. Since then scholars have often turned to Braulio's writings and pointed out what is to be found in them on theology, liturgy, hagiography, political history and philosophy, literature, and biography, but never with the intention of presenting a systematic biography of Braulio, or a comprehensive study of his thought. They have always been absorbed in some other person or some particular thesis. Fidel Fita, for instance, in the last century wrote a valuable article on Braulio's part in the relations between the Spanish Church and Rome at the time. Recently Dom Lambert made a very careful study of Braulio's family, but his work was meant to confirm a thesis on the spread of the monastic *Rule* of John of Biclar. More recently Dom Pérez de Urbel offered the first modern treatment of Braulio and his writings in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, but the very limits of the article prevented a detailed study of the problems raised.

Apart from the Letters, the only writings which can be ascribed to Braulio with certainty are his eulogy of Isidore and catalog of his works, called the *Praenotatio librorum D. Isidori*, a *Life of St. Emilian*, and a *Hymn* in honor of the same saint. Other works claimed for him by some can in no one case be definitely ascribed to him, and, except for a study of their attribution, do not come within the purview of this work.

There is only one primary source worth mentioning for a study of the life of St. Braulio. It is the corpus of his Letters, which includes also those Letters written to him. The brief notice that Ildefonse devotes to him in his *De viris illustribus* and the few references that Eugene of Toledo has to Braulio's family in his poems are almost negligible. He would have remained to this day hardly more than a name had not the greater number

of the Letters which to-day constitute his corpus been discovered in the eighteenth century by a canon at the Cathedral of Leon and sent to Risco for publication. His edition was reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia latina*, volume 80.

The first eight Letters, constituting the correspondence that passed between Braulio and Isidore, have always been available to scholars, and have been edited critically by the late W. M. Lindsay in his edition of Isidore's *Etymologies*. Since the order of the first eight Letters in the Braulio corpus differs from that in Arévalo's edition of Isidore's works as well as from that in Lindsay's edition, comparative tables of the three are given here in the hope that confusion will be avoided.

<i>Risco-Migne edition</i>	<i>Arévalo-Migne edition</i>	<i>Lindsay edition</i>
Letter 1	Letter 3	Letter B
" 2	" 2	" A
" 3	" 10	" 2
" 4	" 11	" 3
" 5	" 12	" 4
" 6	" 13	" 5
" 7	" prefaceing <i>Etymologies</i>	" 6
" 8	" 9	" 1

In citing these Letters the order of the Braulio corpus will be followed, because we consider it to be chronological, but the text of Lindsay will be used.

All translations of passages are the work of the author. An attempt has been made to be literal rather than literary.

These abbreviations are used in the notes:

- A.A.S.S.* *Acta sanctorum.*
D.A.C.L. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie.*
D.H.G.E. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques.*
Espasa *Enciclopedia universal illustrada Europeo-Americanana.*
M.G.H. *Monumenta Germaniae historica.*
P.L. *Migne, Patrologia latina.*



It is with a deep sense of gratitude that the author acknowledges the sympathetic encouragement that he has received in his graduate studies from His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, Bishop of Providence. He is grateful to Doctor Aloysius K. Ziegler for suggesting the subject of this monograph and directing its preparation. To Doctors Martin R. P. McGuire, James A. Geary, and Ignatius Smith, O.P., he is grateful for suggestions, and to many friends for their interest.

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PART ONE

LIFE

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

FAMILY—PLACE OF BIRTH—DATE OF BIRTH—EDUCATION—HIS YEARS AS ARCHDEACON—ELEVATION TO THE SEE OF SARAGOSSA

For twenty years (631-651) Braulio was bishop of Saragossa. Most of our information concerning him belongs to this period of his life, whereas little is known about his forty-five years (585-631) before he became bishop. The few facts of these earlier years and the conservative hypotheses that can be based on them are given in this first chapter. An effort has been made to keep them in chronological order.

FAMILY

Our saint's name is properly spelled Braulio. Manuscript tradition prefers that spelling and all editors of the Letters accept it. Since other forms, especially Braulius, occur, it might be well to offer proof for the correctness of the spelling Braulio. It is true that the name varies occasionally in the dedications of the Letters, but these *incipits* are more subject to change than the body of a work. In the two cases in which the name occurs within the text proper we find the spelling Braulio.¹ With one

¹ Letter 3, critically edited by W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, pages unnumbered; *Life of St. Emilian*, critically edited by T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 240. Some manuscripts with the spelling Braulio have been catalogued in the past under the name of Braulius (*e.g.*, Escorial MSS a. II. 9 and Z. II. 2 and MS 10 of the Real Academia de la Historia. Cf. H. Grubbs, *A Supplement to the Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal*, pp. 5, 85. Cp. G. Antolín, "Estudios de códices visigodos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 54 (Madrid, 1909), 57, and *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, IV, 251, 306; W. von Hartel, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie*, 111 (1886), 433; C. Pérez Pastor, "Índice alfabético de los códices procedentes de los monasterios de San Millán de la Cogolla y San Pedro de Cardeña, existentes en la biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia,"

exception no other person of this name is known until the thirteenth century when after Braulio's canonization the name Braulio came into popular use in Spanish.²

St. Braulio's nationality can not be proved from his name and this not only because his name is unique. For two hundred years Spain had been welding a new people out of two stocks, the Visigothic invaders and the Hispano-roman natives. About the time Braulio was born the union was quite complete in religion (589), for example, and in marriage (583); governance under a single law code was to come later (654).³ The con-

Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, 54 (1909), 7). A few manuscripts, at least, seem to have the spelling Braulius (e.g., Escorial MS b. III. 14 and MSS 13 and 47 of the Real Academia. Cf. Antolín, *Catálogo* . . ., I, 187: genitive Brauli; Grubbs, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 112; Pérez Pastor, *op. cit.*, p. 7). In the Investiture quarrels of the eleventh century he was referred to as Braulio, Braulius, and Bralius (*M.G.H., Libelli de lite*, I, 298, 410, 566, III, 614. Cf. *infra*, p. 144). Two late manuscript lives of the saint and a manuscript describing the *inventio* of his body employ the spelling Braulius in their texts, although Braulio appears in the titles of two of them (cf. *infra*, pp. 7, 8, 193). In the thirteenth century his relics were listed under the name of Braulius (B. de Gaiffier, "Les reliques de l'abbaye de San Millan de la Cogolla au xiii^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 99). Dom Luc d'Achery in the seventeenth century found, in a manuscript now lost, a work of Isidore, *De ordine creaturarum*, dedicated to Braulius. The authenticity of this work is disputed (cf. *infra*, p. 30). Even if the work is authentic, the dedication must be false. The dedication may be found in *P.L.*, 83, 915, note. The author of his life in the *Acta sanctorum* chose to entitle it "*De sancto Braulione seu Braulio . . . synopsis historica*" (*Martii tom. II* (1668), *XVIII Martii*, 3a ed. (1865), p. 634). Of older writers Cajetan and Menéndez y Pelayo preferred Braulius, while Arévalo approved of both forms after the example of Taio and Tadius, a contemporary of Braulio (*P.L.*, 81, 18 B; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, "Saint Isidore et l'importance de son rôle dans l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Espagne," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 7 série, 7 (1882), 260). Now and then the rarer form appears to-day but Braulio is the form generally used even in French, which in the past preferred Braulion.

² An abbot Braulio subscribed to the acts of the Sixteenth Council of Toledo (693). Cf. J. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XII, col. 85.

³ Cf. A. Ziegler, *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*, p. 167.

querors were fired with an emulation of the conquered. Hispanic customs predominated. The Teutonic tongue, in analogy with the religious conflict, gave way before the Roman tongue, and in some cases Germanic names before the Latin. John of Biclar, Fructuosus of Braga, Renovatus of Merida, Duke Paul, Sincticius, and Deidonum were Goths with Latin names. In general, it would seem that a Gothic name of the period designated a Goth; a Latin name, a Goth or an Hispano-roman.⁴

Ferdinand Lot however points out the frequency with which Gothic names occur in Spain as proof that the Hispano-romans often assumed such names.⁵ In an earlier work Kaulen also argues on philological grounds that the instances of barbarian families taking Latin names are infinitely rarer than the contrary.⁶ In any case, we have no indication as to whether Braulio is a Gothic or a Roman name.⁷ But we can safely decide that he came of an Hispano-roman family for the following reasons.

We know five other names in the immediate family of Braulio, none of which is Gothic: Gregory, his father, John and Fronimian, his brothers, Pomponia and Basilla, his sisters.⁸ Gregory

⁴ Cf. H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 349, 357-359, 361. Cf. also Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 167. Of the same opinion is J. Tailhan, "Les espagnoles et les wisigoths avant l'invasion arabe," *Revue des questions historiques*, 30 (1881), 44-45.

⁵ F. Lot, *Les invasions germaniques*, pp. 178-189, esp. 183-184.

⁶ F. Kaulen, *Kirchenlexicon*, s.v. "Isidorus."

⁷ Despite its title, E. Förstemann's article "Altdeutsche Namen aus Spanien," in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (XX (Berlin, 1872), 430-440) gives no help here; neither does E. Gamillscheg, "Die Westgoten auf der iberischen Halbinsel," *Romania Germanica* (vol. 11 of *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*), pp. 354-398.

⁸ Cf. A. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 65-80. This scholarly Librarian of the Monastery of Cogullada in Spain has written the only modern paper which deals with a phase of the Saint's life. It appeared not only in *Universidad*, but also in the *Revista Zurita*, I (1933), 79-94. Both reviews are publications of the University of Saragossa. Dom Lambert has contributed many useful studies on this period to the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*.

and John were bishops, Fronimian an abbot, and Pomponia an abbess.⁹ We seem to have, then, another of those ecclesiastical families of Roman stock to which the Church of "the Invasions" owed much, and from which it suffered a little. In Spain, Saragossa itself had known in the fourth century "the house of the Valerii adorned with bishops."¹⁰ Isidore tells us of four episcopal brothers holding sees in the sixth century,¹¹ while St. Isidore himself belonged to the most illustrious family of them all with its three brother bishops and one sister a nun, perhaps an abbess.¹² It is no wonder that the modern student of these times, Brehaut, would argue that Isidore came from an influential family, because he and his two brothers were bishops.¹³ That such family monopolies were not uncommon may be judged from the legislation enacted against them by the Council of Barcelona (599).¹⁴ Other considerations in favor of the Hispano-roman origin of St. Braulio would be the orthodox religion of his father at the time when the Visigoths were converted (589) and the fact that in Braulio's time most bishops subscribing to the councils were presumably of Hispano-roman origin.¹⁵ Séjourné provides another argument in calling attention to the passage in Isidore, where a writer, who is a Goth, is written of as something rare.¹⁶

⁹ Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72; Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, 1, 271.

¹⁰ Hic sacerdotum domus infulata Valeriorum. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, Hymn 4, verses 79-80. (Ed. J. Bergman, *Prudentii carmina*, Vienna Corpus, 61, 329.)

¹¹ *De viris illustribus*, chapters 33-34 (*P.L.*, 83, 1099-1100).

¹² Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹³ E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Canon 3. Mansi, X, 482; cf. J. Pérez de Urbel, "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 441.

¹⁵ P. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 104, n. 1. The exact numbers are given.

¹⁶ Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 21. John of Biclar is the person in question. *P.L.*, 83, 1105.

Like every mediaeval saint, Braulio has a double life, the one factual, the other legendary. Unlike many of his associates in sanctity, because of the lateness of his cult, the legendary life is easily exposed.¹⁷ Shortly after the discovery of his body in the twelfth or thirteenth century,¹⁸ a fabulous life of the newly found patron of Saragossa was written by someone of that city and attributed to St. Gregory the Great. This life is preserved today in the fourteenth-century Latin codex 2277 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹⁹ The manuscript seems to be unique and certainly emanated from Saragossa, as one may judge from the other pieces contained therein. Because, as Arévalo points out, little was known of Braulio's origin,²⁰ and because the unique manuscript of his complete Letters was unknown,²¹ the glorifier made him a brother of Leander, Isidore, Hermenegild, and Recared, and hence of royal Gothic stock. The title of the manuscript would lead one to believe that the work is devoted to the brothers, but "Braulius" is the hero.²² The transmission of the legend is described by Arévalo from Marineus Siculus (1497) through Maurolycus (1568) to its early confutation by Risco (1775).²³ Nicholas Antonio and the *Acta Sanctorum* dis-

¹⁷ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 193.

¹⁹ Hagiographi Bollandiani, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali parisiensi (Subsidia Bollandiana II)*, I, 106 (*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, no. 1328). The manuscript is unedited.

²⁰ Braulionem, de cuius vera stirpe minime inter veteres constat, . . . *P.L.*, 81, 99.

²¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 199.

²² Vita beatorum Leandri, Isidori, archiepiscoporum hispalensium, Fulgentii carthaginensis archiepiscopi et Braulionis caesaraugustani episcopi, qui fuerunt fratres et nati ex parentibus, videlicet Remigildo rege fratre regis Franciae nomine Luyba et matre Theodosia filia Severini provinciae carthaginensis, qui fuit filius Theodorci regis gotorum. *Catalogus . . . loc. cit.* The titles of the chapters in the *Vita* are listed on pages 107-108.

²³ *P.L.*, 81, 99.

missed it with a word, but rather recently Vollmer was deceived by it, as Lambert points out.²⁴

There is another old life of Braulio, of interest because unedited it seems to have escaped the notice of every scholar in the past dealing with the Saint, and because at present it is unavailable. The life is in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Escorial.²⁵ Folios 67-74 are devoted to the *Vita*: “*Incipit uita beati Braulii episcopi et confessoris.*” The work is very probably of little value, for, if we are to judge by the incipit and other contents of the manuscript, it is but an enthusiastic eulogy of the sermon type, evidently originating in Saragossa. The *incipit*: *Sicut sidus fulgidum inter micantes pleyades supereminet. . . .* Two other works in the manuscript deal with the celebrated sanctuary Nuestra Señora del Pilar in Saragossa, where St. Braulio is buried, and one treats of the liberation of the city from the Saracens. It would be interesting to know if the work is based entirely on the legendary life or betrays some knowledge of the Letters of Braulio.

The true sources for the life of Braulio are his own writings, particularly the Letters, the short tribute of St. Ildefonse,²⁶ and the *Carmina* of St. Eugene of Toledo.²⁷ His life went unwritten from Ildefonse to the fourteenth century. The fabulous *Vita*

²⁴ Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, I, 379. This treatment of Braulio and his works is reproduced in *P.L.*, 80, 639-648. *AA.SS.*, *loc. cit.*; Lambert, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 67.

²⁵ MS P.III.5. Cf. Antolín, *Catálogo . . .*, III, 318-319.

²⁶ *De viris illustribus*, chap. xii. G. von Dzialowski, *Isidor und Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker*, p. 144. *P.L.*, 80, 639 C, or 96, 203. Dzialowski (pp. 148-153) points out that: “For Braulio we have older and better sources and the inaccuracies and incompleteness of Ildefonse makes his treatment of Braulio of little worth. Due principally to his interest in the bishops of Toledo, his tendency to subordinate other bishoprics leads him to treat sparingly such great lights of the Spanish church as Isidore, his teacher, and Braulio. This makes his work of little worth from the viewpoint of literary history.”

²⁷ *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina*, ed. F. Vollmer, *M.G.H.*, *Auct. antiqu.*, XIV, 229-291.

was then written without the benefit of his Letters. Risco in the eighteenth century used these Letters for the first time to write a brief life of Braulio.²⁸ The indications in the *Carmina* were first used by Lambert in 1933.²⁹ The only reference to Braulio's parents is found in his brother John's epitaph written by Eugene. There we find that his father was Gregory, a worthy bishop (*sacerdos*) of a see unnamed, and that his mother was a distinguished lady.³⁰ By *sacerdos*, Eugene certainly meant "bishop," for in the same poem he uses that word to describe Bishops John and Braulio. The only Bishop Gregory of the time of whom we have record held the see of Osma in 610, at which time he attended the Provincial Council of Toledo.³¹ Osma is about one hundred and twenty-five miles to the west of Saragossa and was in the Province of Cartagena.

There is no doubt that John, Braulio's immediate predecessor in the see of Saragossa, was his brother. Braulio testifies to this in his Letter to Fronimian prefacing the *Life of St. Emilian*.³²

²⁸ M. Risco, *España sagrada* (ed. H. Florez), 30, 142-179. The second edition varies in pagination. This life by Risco is not reproduced in Migne, volume 80, although his edition of Braulio's works is.

²⁹ *Loc. cit.*

³⁰ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 248: *Carmen 21* (Epitaphion) Ioannis (Episcopi), verses 17-18:

Nobilis hunc genuit clara de matre sacerdos
Factis egregius, nomine Gregorius.

³¹ Mansi, X, 508; cf. also P. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, p. 56. Valuable is the warning of Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 102: "Rien d'analogie aux 'Fastes épiscopaux de la Gaule . . .' Florez et ses continuateurs (Risco is one) ont tenu compte d'un trop grand nombre de traditions inacceptables; Gams a admis des noms et des dates qu'aucun document irrécusable n'autorise. La date de création des sièges épiscopaux et la hiérarchie intervenue entre eux sont des points obscurs . . ." There was a *Fastes épiscopaux* for Spain, drawn up by Father Garcia Villada, S.J., and almost ready for publication, which was destroyed by the vandals who burned his library in 1931. Cf. Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, II, i, 11, and B. De Gaiffier, "Bulletin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933), 410.

³² Dei viro, dominoque meo et germano Fronimiano, Presbytero, Braulio, immeritus Episcopus salutem. Tempore piae recordationis Domini mei et

St. Ildefonse corroborates it.³³ The sixteenth-century denial of Thomas of Truxillo, who was misled by the legendary life, found an early rebuttal.³⁴ The Fronimian of the above Letter is likewise a brother to Braulio as the dedication “*dominoque meo et germano Fronimiano*” proves.³⁵ The Abbess Pomponia is addressed as “*filia*” by Braulio in the salutation of Letter 18; the death of her sister, Basilla, is recalled in the body of the Letter and her blood-relationship with Braulio is mentioned at the end.³⁶ She is also mentioned in one of the two epitaphs written by Eugene of Toledo for Basilla, who was certainly sister to her and to Braulio.³⁷ In the salutation of Letter 15, which is addressed to Basilla, Braulio calls her also, “*filia*,” but in the body of the Letter she becomes “*domina filia germana*.³⁸

The problem of Braulio’s family is not ended here. Dom Pérez de Urbel in a recent work points out that this Hispano-roman family seems to have intermarried with the *magnates* of the conquering Visigoths.³⁹ A third daughter of Gregory, he believes, married the Goth Wistremirus, to whom Braulio wrote Letter 30 on the occasion of her death.⁴⁰ He is inclined to be-

germani majoris natu, . . . Ioannis Episcopi . . . T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 213. Editions and authenticity are discussed *infra* chapter ix.—On the meaning of *germanus* in the period see Isidore’s *Etymologies*, IX, vi, 6.

³³ Braulio frater Ioannis in Caesaraugusta decedentis adeptus est locum. . . Cf. *supra*, n. 26.

³⁴ *Thesaurus concionatorum* (Barcelona, 1579), II; *AA.SS.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 634; Antonio in *P.L.*, 80, 641.

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, n. 32.

³⁶ Dominae et in Christo filiae Pomponiae abbatissae, Braulio . . . volui aliquid tibi de transitu sanctae memoriae germanae tuae domnae Bassillae scribere . . . nihil enim extraneum facis, si me diligis, cuius et qualitatem nosti mentis, et quem consortem habes sanguinis. *P.L.*, 80, 664, B, C; 665 C.

³⁷ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen 22*, p. 249.

³⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 662, B; 663, A.

³⁹ J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 368; “Braulio,” *D.H.G.E.*, X, 442.

⁴⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 677. . . abiit quam dileximus, in qua tibi et copula carnis, et

lieve with Fidel Fita that her name was Antonina, and that Braulio wrote an epitaph in her honor.⁴¹ The relationship can not be proved from the evidence. The same may be said for his belief that Hermenfredus of Letter 19 is a nephew, and the child's mother and grandmother, Hojo and Eutrocia, relatives. Hugnan, the dead father of the child, was but Braulio's "friend."⁴² Ataulfus of Letter 28, or his wife, was more probably related to Braulio. On the death of Mello, mother-in-law to Ataulfus, Braulio consoles him, apparently in the rôle of a relative.⁴³ Finally, as Pérez de Urbel points out, Braulio very definitely claims the celebrated St. Fructuosus as a relative.⁴⁴ This claim clearly connects his family with the Visigoths, for Fructuosus was son of the Gothic Duke of Vierzo, whose family gave King Sisenand to the throne of Toledo.

There is one family ghost to lay. The scholar Vollmer, by "une étrange distraction" says Martinez,⁴⁵ makes Basilla the mother of Eugene, and Braulio his uncle. Lambert is far more severe with him for permitting the *Falsos cronicones*, and particularly Higuera's *Pseudo-Julian Chronicle*, to deceive him.⁴⁶ Many authors in the past, Bourret, for instance,⁴⁷ have been

consolatio omnis, et nobis causa decoris, et specimen charitatis fuit. Decus tuum, nostra laus, et ornamentum tuum, nostra exultatio erat...talem habuimus, tu uxorem, nos vero sororem.

⁴¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 251.

⁴² *P.L.*, 80, 666, C, D. ...altera enim prolem, altera amisit conjugem; sed et nos ipsi amicum ... Hermenfredum nunc ad me remittite, ut viso me ad vos debeat redire.

⁴³ *P.L.*, 80, 675. Sed sic dolorem adhibe, ut possis et uxorem et cognatum consolari.

⁴⁴ Pérez de Urbel, *op. cit.*, I, 368, 399. *P.L.*, 80, 692 A, 700 A. (Braulio to Fructuosus) ...in Christi membris suavissimo filio, Fructuoso presbytero, Braulio... Vale in Domino, mihi charitate germane, merito Domine, fili aetate, collega dignitate, atque parens affinitate...

⁴⁵ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 300-301; V. Martinez, *D.H.G.E.*, s.v. "Basilla."

⁴⁶ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁴⁷ J.-C. Bourret, *L'École chrétienne de Séville*, pp. 69, 121.

misled by the legendary *Life* of Ildefonse by Cixila, as found in Lorenzana, whereby Basilla becomes the mother of Eugene and grandmother of Ildefonse.⁴⁸

PLACE OF BIRTH

Where Braulio was born can not be settled on existing testimony. If his father is to be identified with Gregory, bishop of Osma, that city, not so far from Saragossa, may be considered. Lambert, the only one who has studied this question, believes it possible, but not probable that Braulio's father is to be placed there. Since both John and Braulio were bishops of Saragossa, we should like to think of them as natives. Most of the Visigothic conquerors settled in the country, leaving the cities to the Hispano-romans.⁴⁹ It is known that several of the cities in Spain with long Christian traditions nourished just such families as Braulio's.⁵⁰ Fructuosus writing to Braulio calls the city "your Saragossa."⁵¹ John had been abbot, perhaps, before his episcopal period,⁵² of the celebrated shrine and monastery of the Eighteen Martyrs, which drew Eugene to Saragossa.⁵³ Basilla may have lived there, since Eugene knew her well enough to dedicate two epitaphs to her memory.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, no reason

⁴⁸ Cixila, *S. Hildefonsi vita*, apud F. de Lorenzana, *SS. Patrum Toletanorum opera*, I, 443-444 (P.L., 96, 43-44).

⁴⁹ M. Torres, "El estado visigótico: algunos datos sobre su formación y principios fundamentales de su organización política," *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, III (1926), 415-417; E. Pérez Pujol, *Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda*, II, 195.

⁵⁰ Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, XV, 1, 66 (P.L., 82, 535); this description of Saragossa might have been written by Braulio, according to E. Anspach. Cf. *infra*, p. 49. Cf. also Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 102, 104.

⁵¹ P.L., 80, 690 D: ...Caesaraugustam vestram vestra jugis augusta doctrina nobilitat....

⁵² Ildefonse, *De viris illustribus*, chapter 6 (P.L., 96, 201): Primo pater monachorum et ex hoc praesul factus....

⁵³ *Ibid.*, chapter 14 (P.L., 96, 204): Qui sagaci fuga urbem Caesaraugustam petens, illic martyrum sepulchris inhaesit. Cf. also Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁵⁴ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmina* 22 and 23, pp. 249-250.

given here is conclusive and opposed to the thesis is the fact that Fronimian, Pomponia, and even Basilla probably did not live there, since letters are sent out to them. Indeed, Fronimian did not know liturgical custom at Saragossa, since Braulio informs him concerning it in Letter 14 as we are about to see.⁵⁵

With only a little less confidence than its author, do we accept the scholarly hypothesis of Dom Lambert as the best.⁵⁶ This Hispano-roman family had its origin in or about Gerona, to the north of Barcelona and within the Province of Tarragona. In answer to a query of Fronimian on a liturgical custom Braulio writes in Letter 14:⁵⁷

Neither is this done here, nor have we seen it done anywhere else, not at my lord Isidore's, of excellent memory, or finally at Toledo even, or at Gerona.

Manifestly Braulio was intimate with ecclesiastical life in Gerona. Perhaps his memory went back recalling last the place he knew in his early youth.⁵⁸ Passages from Letter 18 to his sister, the abbess Pomponia, bewailing the deaths of their sister Basilla and Bishop Nunnitus of Gerona, both of whom died about 634-635,⁵⁹ convince Lambert of an early intimacy with Gerona.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 661. We are supposing here that the Fronimian of Letters 13 and 14 is the same person as the Fronimian, brother of Braulio, to whom the dedicatory Letter prefacing the *Life of St. Emilian* is addressed. The identification is not certain, although Lambert (*op. cit.*, p. 72) accepts it. Cf. *infra*, p. 69.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 72, 73.

⁵⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 661 B: ...neque apud nos fit, neque ubicunque fieri vidimus, nec apud praestantissimae memoriae dominum meum Isidorum, denique nec Toleto quidem, vel Gerunda.

⁵⁸ Here we have an indication that this Fronimian is not a brother to Braulio, for we could expect him to know liturgical custom at Saragossa or Gerunda, if he were. Lambert, on the other hand, believing him to be a brother, does not explain this slight difficulty.

⁵⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 57.

⁶⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 664 C: Ecce alia afflictio super afflictionem venit . . . Quoties-

Behold another affliction came upon affliction. . . . As often as I have wished to write something to you about the death of your sister, the lady Basilla of pious memory, just so often, affected by bitterness . . . have I fallen into a sorrowful state of mind; but again I waste away in tears shaken by a twin evil, which is to say, that the death of my lord Bishop Nunnitus of revered memory has undone me. . . . Oh, what a great good has been lost to our times in these two. . . . Where now is our protection? . . . Where the solace of monks and nuns? . . . Do you console the other sisters.

By these allusions Lambert sees that Pomponia has not quit her native soil of Gerona. We can agree that the text supports this. Yet, if Basilla died in Pomponia's monastery at Gerona, as Lambert holds,⁶¹ it seems somewhat strange that Eugene, in Saragossa, should write two epitaphs for her tomb. Lambert is justified in holding that the monastery of Pomponia followed the *Rule of Nunnitus*, that is to say, the *Rule of John of Biclar*, whom Nunnitus succeeded as Bishop of Gerona. He is correct in pointing out the close friendship between Braulio and Nunnitus.

This close relationship, says Lambert, had been made difficult for Braulio, ever since Nunnitus had become bishop in 621, because Braulio was living at that time with St. Isidore in Seville. We believe it can be shown from Letters 1-8 that Braulio was living from 620 on with his brother John, Bishop of Saragossa.⁶² It is surprising, too, that Lambert did not mention that Nunnitus and Braulio saw each other at the Fourth Council of Toledo in

cunque volui aliquid tibi de transitu sanctae memoriae tuae domnae Bassillae scribere, toties amaritudine affectus . . . in funere mente versabar: sed . . . rursus geminato malo perculsus in lacrymis contabesco; id est, reverendae memoriae domini mei Nunniti episcopi exitus mihi existit exitiosus . . . O quantum in his duobus nostris bonum perdidimus temporibus! . . . Ubi nunc praesidium nostrum? . . . Vel ubi monachorum et monacharum refrigerium? . . . Per te consolentur sorores caeterae. . . .

⁶¹ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen 23*, p. 250; Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁶² Cf. *infra*, pp. 27, 35.

633.⁶³ But, to follow Lambert, Braulio was friendly, therefore, with Nunnitus while the latter was still a monk under the *Rule* of John of Biclar at the monastery of St. Felix near Gerona.⁶⁴ Braulio and his family thereby came to know John of Biclar, then Bishop of Gerona, his *Rule*, and Nunnitus. In 592 John of Biclar attended the Council of Saragossa in connection with which the basilica of the Eighteen Martyrs was probably reconsecrated.⁶⁵ Shortly afterwards, under the same bishop, Maximus, there was established at this shrine the monastery which later attracted the young Eugene. Perhaps John of Biclar, himself a founder of monastic life, was able to have John, the brother of Braulio, installed as the first abbot. The latter is called “*pater monachorum*” by Ildefonse,⁶⁶ and “*communis ac sanctae vitae doctrinaeque institutor*” by Braulio.⁶⁷ Then as the only direct proof that the *Rule* of John of Biclar was in force at the monastery of the Eighteen Martyrs, Lambert, hesitatingly, quotes two verses from the dubious *De admonendo monachos* of Eugene, in which the following advice is given to monks, possibly of this monastery:⁶⁸ “Following the example of Elias let them shun the company of the people and love that of Paul, Anthony, and John.” Here, he believes, John of Biclar is joined to the monastic great by a dutiful son. John the Baptist would,

⁶³ Mansi, X, 641, 643.

⁶⁴ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Ildefonse, *De viris illustribus*, Chapter 10 (*P.L.*, 96, 203).

⁶⁵ Alias Innumerabiles Martyres, Massa Candida, Santa Engracia, Santas Masas.

⁶⁶ Ildefonse, *ibid.*, chapter 6 (*P.L.*, 96, 201): Primo pater monachorum et ex hoc praesul factus....

⁶⁷ Letter to Fronimian prefacing the *Life of St. Emilian*, Minguella, *op. cit.*, 213; Tempore piae recordationis Domini mei et germani majoris natu, communis ac sanctae vitae doctrinaeque institutoris Ioannis Episcopi,...

⁶⁸ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Appendix*, number 24, p. 277; Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 77:

Exemplo Eliae populi consortia vitent
et Pauli, Antonii, atque Johannis, ament.

he thinks, have been mentioned with greater distinction. But why not consider John, the brother of Braulio, the “*pater monachorum*,” and first abbot?⁶⁹ Above all, is not this John, John Cassian, founder of monasticism in the West? And here the strongest reservation is made to Lambert’s thesis. In the study of Braulio’s life, we find no trace of the writings and *Rule* of John of Biclar. But we do know, as we shall see later,⁷⁰ that Braulio knew Cassian well through Isidore, that he had his writings in his library, and that the great monk of his time, Fructuosus, wrote to him for these writings. Again, Braulio was with Isidore when the latter wrote his *De viris illustribus* (615-618). Had he known Biclar well he would not have permitted the master to end his description of John of Biclar with “and he is said to have written much else, which has not come to our notice.”⁷¹

Lambert ends his hypothesis with Fronimian carrying the *Rule* of Biclar, perhaps, to the Monastery of San Millán in the west in which his brother John had become interested.⁷² Pomponia stayed in her native district of Gerona, abbess of a monastery under the same *Rule*.⁷³

Despite the reservations, or may we say, with the reservations, Lambert’s thesis, that he came from the district of Gerona,

⁶⁹ Notice that Eugene in his epitaph of John compares him to John the Baptist (Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen 21*, v. 5, p. 248): ... nomine baptistam referens et mente Iohannem.

⁷⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 178.

⁷¹ Et multa alia scribere dicitur, quae ad nostram notitiam non pervenerunt. *P.L.*, 83, 1106. Cf. also Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Fr. Schütte’s hypothesis on marginal additions by Braulio to Isidore’s *De viris illustribus* is incorrect. Cf. *infra*, p. 249.

⁷² Braulio wrote the *Life of St. Emilian* at the command of his brothers John and Fronimian. Cf. *infra*, p. 221.

⁷³ Pérez de Urbel (*Los monjes...*, I, 365) says more correctly that her monastery may have been either near Saragossa or in the district of Gerona. As a matter of fact he says “province of Gerona” which is inexact, Gerona not being a province.

is the best available on the place of Braulio's origin.⁷⁴ One further observation seems of value. Granting with Lambert that Hispano-romans would look askance, because of the Byzantine occupation, on anything of Greek origin, we would not expect this Hispano-roman family, acknowledged as such by Lambert, to promote so fervently a *Rule* that was Basilian. Could not this very antagonism account for the silence that has engulfed the *Rule* of John of Biclar?

DATE OF BIRTH

The date of Braulio's birth falls between the years 581 and 600. It may even be placed at about 585. It was undoubtedly before 600. Braulio succeeded his brother John as bishop in 631.⁷⁵ The Fourth Council of Toledo (633), which Braulio attended, decreed in canon 19 that a bishop should not be consecrated before the age of 30.⁷⁶ Taking this into consideration, we may feel sure that Braulio was beyond that age in 631.

He was born after 581 in which year his brother John was born, according to the reliable testimony of Eugene, who, in his epitaph of John, tells us he died in his fiftieth year.⁷⁷ That year we know to be 631.⁷⁸ Braulio himself tells us that John was the older.⁷⁹ Whether Braulio was older than Fronimian and Pomponia or not we can not safely say. Certainly he was older than Basilla, who, dying in 634-635, was, according to Eugene's epitaph, "in the first flower of her youth" when she was widowed

⁷⁴ Cp. Pérez de Urbel ("Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 441-442) who is more reluctant to accept Lambert's thesis.

⁷⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 30.

⁷⁶ Mansi, X, 625.

⁷⁷ Hic decimum revolvit agens in tempora lustrum. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen 21*, v. 21, p. 248.

⁷⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 27.

⁷⁹ Prefatory Letter to the *Life of St. Emilian*. Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 213: Tempore piae recordationis Domini mei et germani majoris natu, communis ac sanctae vitae doctrinaeque institutoris Ioannis Episcopi, tam ejus jussis, quam tuis obediens praeceptis, intenderam....

about 633.⁸⁰ Due to his reading of Braulio's text, referred to above, Antonio decided that John was definitely older than both Braulio and Fronimian.⁸¹ "*Communis*," he thought, belonged with "*germani*"; it would seem to belong with "*vitae*." The opening paragraphs of Letter 13 to the abbot Fronimian, who may have been a person quite distinct from Braulio's brother Fronimian, seem to bespeak an abbot well on in years.⁸² A passage in Letter 14 to the same person, written after 636, implies that Fronimian had been one of Braulio's instructors, and therefore was older in years.⁸³ Yet, supposing still that this Fronimian is Braulio's brother, we find that he is still alive about the year 650. A passage in Letter 42 supports this and gives some slight ground for saying that Fronimian was younger than Braulio. The letter was written by Braulio in his old age⁸⁴ to Tajo and in it Fronimian is mentioned as still living; hence he may have been younger. We quote not only the pertinent passage, but also the clause that follows, for the latter tells us briefly of the love the brothers bore one another.⁸⁵

For I am not the only petitioner in this matter; there is also my lord brother, your dear friend; wherefore you satisfy both if you do one a favor and hurt both if you spurn one.

In general Braulio's letters to Fronimian, Pomponia, and Basilla have the air of a person older than the recipients; his position, however, could account for it.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Tu privata viro primaevō flore iuventae. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen 22*, v. 13, p. 249.

⁸¹ *P.L.*, 80, 642 and note e.

⁸² *P.L.*, 80, 659. Cf. also Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁸³ *P.L.*, 80, 661 B: Sed quaeſo ut si quid in hoc negligenter dixero, ad te respiciat cauſa, quia ultra jubes quaerere quam dedisti, et magis vis exigere quam informasti.

⁸⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 62.

⁸⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 690 B: Nam non solus ego hujuscemodi rei sum petitor, sed et dominus, germanusque meus, tuus amator: quapropter ambobus satisfacies, si uni praestaveris, et ambos contempnes, si unum spreveris.

⁸⁶ Letters 13 (?), 14 (?), 15, 18, and Prefatory Letter to the *Life of St. Emilian*.

If we assume that Braulio was born about 585, we find the known facts of his life fitting into a convenient chronology. His education at home and sojourn at Seville, occupied his years until 620, when, at the age of thirty-five, he returned to Saragossa to become archdeacon under his brother John, the newly-consecrated bishop of that see. That his education should have taken so much time, we shall shortly discover to be not at all abnormal. With his brother's death he succeeded to the bishopric in 631 at the age of forty-six. Death came at the age of sixty-six in 651. It was a rather long life for his times. The constant complaints in his Letters on the subject of his health find an exact parallel in the Letters of Isidore to him, and in the correspondence of all ages for that matter. One possible sign of age is the reference in Letter 42, written late in life, to his infirmities, chief of which is eye-trouble.⁸⁷ Although he had the example of his friend Isidore living to the age of seventy-six to console him, he undoubtedly thought of himself as a very old man. His contemporary Eugene could write a poem, in which he gives his own age as forty-nine, entitled: *Lament on the approach of old age.*⁸⁸

EDUCATION

Very little is known of the history of education in the seventh century because there was very little education.⁸⁹ Spain was

⁸⁷ Ut litteris tuis illico non responderem diversarum me arctatum fateor fuisse necessitatum, eminentius tamen aegritudine oculorum et variarum afflictione infirmitatum. *P.L.*, 80, 687 A.

⁸⁸ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen 14*, v. 85, p. 245.

⁸⁹ Cf. Margaret Deanesly, "Medieval Schools to c. 1300," *Cambridge Medieval History*, V, 765-779. The standard work on the subject is M. Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*. Cf. also E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, pp. 81-88; F. Lot, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi: bulletin Du Cange*, VI (1931), 97-159; H. Leclercq, "École," *D.A.C.L.*, IV, ii (1921), 1850-1852; P. de Labriolle in *Histoire de l'église*, ed. A. Flliche and V. Martin, IV (Paris, 1937), 559-572.

carrying the flame more firmly than any other people of the time, more firmly even than Ireland, if one is to judge by the scholars produced and by scanty written testimony.⁹⁰ There is no indication that the rhetoric schools of the late empire persisted, or that the wandering tutor-rhetorician, who succeeded these schools, was at work.⁹¹ There is no evidence that a monastic school, even that of the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian at Agalia near Toledo,⁹² was doing aught but training its own oblates in ecclesiastical rudiments including Latin.⁹³ The schools of seventh-century Spain were strictly personal in their organization; a scholar drew students to him. The cathedral school of the Carolingian type, with its growing impersonal complexion, did not exist. In Spain in almost every case the scholar was a bishop and the student an applicant for Holy Orders. The register of Spanish scholars of the period confirms this: Leander and Isidore attracted Braulio and Ilde-

⁹⁰ A tribute to Spain's contribution in this period is found in the old but stimulating work of J.-C. Bourret, *L'École chrétienne de Séville*, pp. 3-7.

⁹¹ Lot, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101, 138; Deanesly, *op. cit.*, p. 766.

⁹² L. Serrano, "Agali," *D.H.G.E.*

⁹³ Deanesly, *op. cit.*, p. 772; Isidore, *Regula monachorum*, chapter 20, 5 (*P.L.*, 83, 891): Porro cura nutriendorum parvulorum pertinebit ad virum quem elegerit Pater, sanctum sapientemque, atque aetate gravem, informantem parvulos non solum studiis litterarum, sed etiam documentis magisterioque virtutum. The *parvuli* would be the oblates, since they were as young as seven years of age, and perhaps a few externs of noble blood. Cf. Deanesly, *loc. cit.* It is unlikely that the children of slaves manumitted by the Church were educated in the monasteries, although the Sixth Council of Toledo in 638 (Cn. 10, *Mansi*, X, 666) ordered the education of these children entrusted to the Church.—Cf. H. Koeppler, "De viris illustribus and Isidore of Seville," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 38 (1936), 19; he calls attention to the light thrown on the relation between episcopal school and monastery in canon 24 of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 (*Mansi*, X, 626): Qui autem his praeceptis (*i.e.*, the curriculum of the episcopal school) resultaverint, monasteriis deputentur, ut . . . severiori regula distringantur.—Notice that E. Pérez Pujol (*Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda*, III, 489 ff.) and the many authors accepting his judgment hold that monastery and cathedral schools flourished at this time.

fonse to Seville, Braulio attracted Eugene and Tajo to Saragossa, Eugene and Ildefonse attracted Julian to Toledo. This type of school is well named "episcopal school," "bishop's school," and sometimes "familial school," since the students belonged to the bishop's *familia*. The existence of such schools in Gaul in the same century is well established by abundant texts.⁹⁴

Fifty years before Braulio was born, the Second Council of Toledo (531) planted the seeds of these episcopal schools.⁹⁵

Concerning those whom the will of the parents has given over from the first years of childhood for the clerical state, we decree that the following should be observed: namely, that as soon as they shall have been tonsured and given over to the office of lectors they ought to be instructed by a master in the house of the church under the eyes of the bishop.

The success of these schools for fifty years is conjectural. About the time Braulio was born we find one friend of Gregory the Great, Bishop Lucinianus of Cartagena, writing to the pope to deplore his command that an ignorant man shall not be ordained, and expressing the fear that under such a condition no one will be eligible to be ordained.⁹⁶ About the same time another friend of the pope, Bishop Leander of Seville, is forming a *familia* of which Isidore was to be the first fruit. Could we accept Letter 6 of the Isidore corpus, addressed to Duke Claudio, as genuine we should be able to point to a school at Seville which accommodated lay students as well, for Isidore writes, "Remember

⁹⁴ Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 768-771; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, 1831-1837.

⁹⁵ Canon 1. Mansi, VIII, 785: De his quos voluntas parentum a primis infantiae annis clericatus officio manciparit, hoc statuimus observandum: ut mox cum detensi vel ministerio electorum contraditi fuerint, in domo ecclesiae, sub episcopali praesentia a praeposito sibi debeat erudiri....

⁹⁶ P. Ewald and L. Hartmann, *Gregorii I papae registrum epistolarum*, M.G.H., *Epistolae*, I, 60: Jubes ut non ordinetur imperitus... nemo erit in hoc loco qui peritus esse dicatur, nemo erit utique sacerdos, si nisi peritus esse non debet.

Leander, our common doctor, and imitate his faith and doctrine with all your strength.”⁹⁷

Braulio’s early education was probably under the care of his father and older brother John.⁹⁸ Perhaps the latter was *praepositus* for his father, Bishop Gregory.⁹⁹ John was no mean scholar and teacher, as the extravagant testimony of Eugene witnesses.¹⁰⁰ Ildefonse testifies that, “he was learned in the sacred writings, being inclined to teach by word of mouth rather than by writing.”¹⁰¹ His written works were confined to liturgical offices and paschal chronology of which no fragments remain. A greater compliment was paid him by Ildefonse when he

⁹⁷ Memento communis nostri doctoris Leandri, et ejus fidem atque doctrinam pro viribus imitare, . . . *P.L.*, 83, 905. Brehaut, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 1, accepts the Letter as genuine. J. De Aldama, “Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro,” *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 60, note 13, rejects it as certainly apocryphal.—We are avoiding the expression “School of Seville,” not because it is undeserved, but because of the exaggerations bred by a thirteenth century life of Isidore (cf. Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 25). The problem is treated by Arévalo in *P.L.*, 81, 116. Bourret’s monograph (cf. *supra*, n. 90) is not to be entirely disregarded because it employs such unreliable writings; the author had a happy faculty for conjecture which later research upholds.

⁹⁸ An abbot Fronimian, whom we may take to be Braulio’s brother, may have had a hand in it. Cf. Letter 14, *P.L.*, 80, 661, B.

⁹⁹ We could supply, by conjecture only, details of these school-days from the picture drawn by Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 767-771. Braulio was presumably adopted into the *familia* at the age of seven, tonsured, and ordained lector. As a member of the bishop’s clerical *militia* he lived intimately with him, was given a stipend, and at the age of eighteen given the choice of marriage. Cf. also L. Duchesne, *Les origines du culte chrétien*, 2 ed., pp. 334-336.

¹⁰⁰ His epitaph of John. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *Carmen* 21, p. 248:

Omnibus in studiis tantum celebratus habetur,
cedat ut ingenio Graecia docta suo.

¹⁰¹ *De viris illustribus*, chapter 6 (*P.L.*, 96, 201): Vir in sacris litteris eruditus, plus verbis intendens docere quam scriptis . . . In ecclesiasticis officiis quaedam eleganter et sono et oratione composuit. Annotavit inter haec inquirendae paschalis solemnitatis tam subtile atque utile argumentum . . .

described Braulio as "not at all inferior in ability" to John.¹⁰² John may have been "cheerful of mien" as Ildefonse says,¹⁰³ but it was probably under him that Braulio felt the ruler, as he himself so humanly confesses to his own pupil, Tajo, in Letter 11:¹⁰⁴

For we, too, to quote Horace, learned our a,b,c's, and often drew our hand out from under the ruler, so that it could be said of us, 'He is a dangerous fellow; keep away from him!' or that Virgilian passage: 'I, too, sire, can scatter darts and no weakling steel from this right hand, and from my wounds, too, flows blood!'

A later source, the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), testifies to the strictness of the regimen of an episcopal school.¹⁰⁵

If among those preparing for the clergy, there are youths and young men, all should occupy one room of the house, in order that they may spend the difficult years of their life, not in vice, but in the ecclesiastical disciplines, under an elderly man of proved character, who will be their teacher and a witness of their life.

If any are refractory, they are to be sent to monasteries for reformation.¹⁰⁶

The study of education in the Middle Ages might almost be said to be the study of the text-books used.¹⁰⁷ To establish the

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, chapter 12 (*P.L.*, 96, 203): Braulio frater Ioannis . . . vir sicut germanitate coniunctus, ita non minimum ingenio minoratus.

¹⁰³ Hilaris et vultu. *Ibid.*, chapter 6 (*P.L.*, 96, 201).

¹⁰⁴ Quia et nos juxta Flaccum didicimus litterulas, et saepe manum ferulae subtraximus, et de nobis dici potest: Fenum habet in cornu, longe fuge (Horace, *Satires*, I, 4, 34); imo illud Virgilianum:

Et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra
Spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.

(*Aeneid*, XII, vv. 50, 51; H. Fairclough, *Virgil* (*Loeb Classical Library*), II, 302.)

¹⁰⁵ Si qui in clero puberes aut adolescentes existunt, omnes in uno conclavi atrii commorenentur: ut lubricae aetatis annos non in luxuria, sed in disciplinis ecclesiasticis agant, deputati probatissimo seniori, quem magistrum doctrinae, et testem vitae habeant . . . Canon 24, Mansi, X, 626.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* Cf. *supra*, note 93.

¹⁰⁷ The substance of a pertinent paragraph in C. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, p. 356.

list of text-books used in this period, we would have to study the writings of the time with an eye open for text-book sources. This has not been done systematically for the period and so we must be content to consult the list of books which, we are reasonably sure, comprised the libraries of the time.¹⁰⁸ It was an age of compendiums and suffice it is to say that the favorite handbooks of the early Middle Ages were in use in Spain.¹⁰⁹ The studies were, of course, almost wholly theological.¹¹⁰ The sacred Scriptures were studied carefully. Latin was taught as necessary ecclesiastical equipment and certainly John taught that branch of arithmetic called *computus*, in which he was an authority. Compute consisted of the tables for determining Easter and the movable feasts dependent thereon.¹¹¹ No more can be said with safety of Braulio's earlier period of education. The superior training he shows may be considered a result of the higher training he received in Seville, whither we now find him going.

Because of the tone of Letters 1-8, Isidore's *commercium epistolarum cum Braulio*,¹¹² no author has ever denied that Braulio spent some time in his youth with Isidore. The intimacy of expression and longing to be reunited expressed in these Letters leave no doubt. In Letter 1 Isidore speaks of "when we were

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *infra*, chapter vi.

¹⁰⁹ A list is found in M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900*, pp. 19-26.—Cf. F. Lear, "St. Isidore and Mediaeval Science," *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, 23 (1936), 82: "Isidore belonged to the age of manual, compend, and commentary, of glosses and annotations, of outlines, abstracts, epitomes, and epitomes of epitomes, in short, the text-book habit of mind, now inculcated so effectively in our modern secondary schools.... The tabloid type of mind...."

¹¹⁰ Laistner, *op. cit.*, p. 96, note 1.

¹¹¹ Deanesly, *op. cit.*, pp. 765, 770.

¹¹² Title taken from Toledo MS 15,9 in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid. Cf. Hartel, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie*, 112 (1886), 721.

together."¹¹³ In Letter 5 Braulio complains of his inability to secure a copy of the *Etymologies* when he was with Isidore.¹¹⁴ Finally we have already mentioned Braulio's avowal to Abbot Fronimian that he had seen liturgical custom "*apud praestantissimae memoriae dominum meum Isidorum*.¹¹⁵" We do not know when Braulio departed his homeland for Seville. Since Braulio suggested to Isidore that he write the *Etymologies*, the first parts of which appeared in 620, we may presume that he was with him several years prior to that date.¹¹⁶ Letters 1-8 were written from 620 on, after Braulio had returned to act as archdeacon to John, now Bishop of Saragossa. Let us say, then, that Braulio went to Seville about 610, at the age of twenty-five.¹¹⁷

Presumably the great learning of Isidore attracted Braulio to Seville. Isidore was acquiring the fame which, eighteen years after his death, culminated in the following tribute from the seventy-five fathers of the Spanish Church gathered at the Eighth Council of Toledo.¹¹⁸

The great doctor of our century, the most recent ornament of the Catholic Church, the last in date of this line, but not the least in the field of doctrine, and, what is more, the most learned of these latter centuries, he whom one should name with reverence, Isidore. . . .

He was Bishop of Seville, having succeeded Leander in 600. Some of his writings were already published.¹¹⁹ He was the

¹¹³ Dum pariter essemus . . . Lindsay, *op. cit.* This question meets with more attention in chapter 2; cf. *infra*, p. 36.

¹¹⁴ Praesentem me frustratum esse, . . . et sine petitionis effectu manemus. Lindsay, *op. cit.*; cf. *infra*, p. 47.

¹¹⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 39.

¹¹⁷ Perhaps he attended the provincial Council of Toledo in 610 with Gregory of Osma, who may have been his father, and there met Isidore for the first time. Cf. *infra*, p. 127.

¹¹⁸ Canon 2. Mansi, X, 1215.

¹¹⁹ Cf. De Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

acknowledged primate of the Spanish church.¹²⁰ Surely Braulio, and undoubtedly others, as Ildefonse later, needed no further attraction than, what Dante has called, “*l'ardente spiro d'Isidoro*.¹²¹ That Braulio at the age of twenty-five should still be seeking to study under a master is not as astounding as it might seem. A pertinent paragraph from an important contribution of Ferdinand Lot is very illuminating here, especially when we notice that he is speaking of the fourth and fifth centuries.¹²²

The long duration of studies from six to twenty years is surprising, if one reflects that the scholastic programme was reduced to grammar and rhetoric and did not comprise the sciences, nor philosophy (at least it was not required), nor a foreign language, Greek having ceased to be taught publicly in the West towards the last quarter of the fourth century. One has the right to suspect that the understanding of Latin was difficult, even for the Roman, and demanded much time.

This is the seventh century and we shall have occasion to remark that Latin was no longer a spoken but a learned language.¹²³ Moreover, Braulio was the greatest classicist of his century,¹²⁴ a century, of course, when superlatives are comparatively no great praise. His writings demand the explanation of prolonged study.

Studies at this time, according to Deanesly's summary,¹²⁵ would have included under grammar “the Latin classics, under rhetoric the schemata, tropes, and figures so useful for the interpretation of Christian scriptures; . . . geometry included geography and such slender conceptions of a Ptolemaic universe as survived.” As for Seville, since Isidore's course of lectures very probably developed into the *Etymologies* at the suggestion of

¹²⁰ No one was officially the primate of Spain. Cf. E. Magnin, *L'Église wisigothique au viie siècle*, I, 101; Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, i, 205; E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, II, 669.

¹²¹ Paradiso, X, 130-131.

¹²² *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹²³ Cf. *infra*, p. 209.

¹²⁴ The subject will receive greater attention in chapter vi, p. 158.

¹²⁵ Deanesly, *op. cit.*, p. 765.

Braulio,¹²⁶ it would be safer to consider as the subjects taught under grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and mathematics, the contents of the first three books of the *Etymologies*.¹²⁷ "In the *Etymologies* Isidore has combined the encyclopedia of education. . . The first three of the twenty books are evidently educational texts; the last twelve as evidently belong to the encyclopedia of all knowledge."¹²⁸

HIS YEARS AS ARCHDEACON

The author of the life of St. Braulio in the *Acta Sanctorum* was quite right in combatting the unfounded opinion that Braulio became archdeacon to Isidore.¹²⁹ What evidence we have would indicate that Braulio returned to Saragossa about the time his brother John was elected (619),¹³⁰ and shortly thereafter was made archdeacon under him.¹³¹ Letter 1 and Letter 2 which we may be quite sure were written in 620 and 620-624 respectively, show St. Isidore addressing him as such.¹³²

We have contemporary evidence as to the duties of an archdeacon. Although he gives no space to the office in his *De eccles-*

¹²⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 43.

¹²⁷ Lindsay, *op. cit.*, or Arévalo's edition in *P.L.*, 82.

¹²⁸ Brehaut, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹²⁹ Martii Tom. II (3 ed.), 634; cf. also Antonio, *op. cit.*, *P.L.*, 80, 641 A.

¹³⁰ Maximus, the predecessor of John died in 619 (cf. Dzialowski, *op. cit.*, p. 80). John, according to Ildefonse, succeeded Maximus and was bishop for twelve years in the reigns of King Sisebut (*ob.* 620) and Swinthila. (Joannes in pontificatu Maximum secutus... Duodecim annis tenuit sedem... Subsistit in sacerdotio temporibus Sisebuti et Swinthilani regum. *De viris illustribus*, chapter 6, *P.L.*, 96, 201). Eugene in his epitaph of John (Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 248, v. 19) testified that: ...bissenis praesul primatum gessit in annis.—We have grounds for suspecting that Braulio attended the Second Council of Seville (619). Cf. *infra*, p. 107.

¹³¹ Pérez de Urbel (*Los monjes* . . ., I, 357) has no grounds for asserting that Braulio was made archdeacon by John shortly after 627, and that he remained in Seville until that time.

¹³² Cf. *infra*, pp. 35, 37, where this subject again comes up. There we find that De Aldama's incorrect dating of Letters 1 and 2 would make Braulio an archdeacon at Seville.

*iasticis officiis,*¹³³ Isidore does enlighten us on the duties of an archdeacon in his Letter to Leudefredus.¹³⁴ It is almost certain from his evidence that an archdeacon was still but a deacon in Holy Orders, for he writes that when the archdeacon is absent, the deacon next in line takes his place.¹³⁵ One interpolated manuscript containing the Letter, however, has a passage which states that the archpriest and all other priests are to be subject to the archdeacon as to the bishop.¹³⁶ Although this is an interpolation, we may consider it to be saying little more than the customary text, where we can remark from Isidore's testimony that the powers of the archdeacon were growing. Spiritual supervision, and more particularly, material supervision of a diocese were more and more being concentrated in his hands as the bishop's principal aid. As an example of this power, we have the case of Bishop Masona of Merida (*ob.* 605), Metropolitan of Lusitania and correspondent of Isidore, placing the administration of his church in the hands of his archdeacon as death approached.¹³⁷ Excellent proof of the importance of the position is found in the fact that the archdeacon Braulio succeeded his brother in the episcopal see, and his own archdeacon, Eugene, was called to the metropolitan see of Toledo by the king.

An interesting difficulty now arises. With Letter 2, addressed to the archdeacon Braulio between 620 and 624, Isidore sent

¹³³ *P.L.*, 83, 787-790. The *Etymologies* is likewise silent. Cf. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, Book VII, chapter 12.

¹³⁴ Letter 1 of the Isidore corpus. *P.L.*, 83, 893.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 896 B: Quando autem archidiaconus absens est, vicem ejus diaconus sequens adimplet.—On this question see A. Schröder, *Entwicklung des Archidiakonats bis zum 1100*, Augsburg, 1890, pp. 10-13, 57; and Leclercq, "Archidiacre," *D.A.C.L.*, I, ii (Paris, 1924), 2733-2736.

¹³⁶ In this interpolated passage the archdeacon is a priest celebrating mass in the bishop's stead, when the latter is absent. The origin of the passage is doubtful, although it has been considered to be a fragment of a Toledan council. Cf. *P.L.*, 83, 896, n. 12.

¹³⁷ Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 294.

him a ring and a pallium as pledges of friendship.¹³⁸ Just what the significance of these gifts was is not clear. They were perhaps sent merely because they were, as the Letter states, fitting symbols of friendship. Had there been any thought of connecting them with the episcopal dignity Isidore would probably have made some reference to the fact. It is true that the ring was certainly a symbol of the episcopacy at that time. Canon 28 of the Fourth Council of Toledo (333) reads:¹³⁹

When a bishop, a priest, or a deacon, unjustly deposed, is declared innocent in a later council, he should recover his lost rank before the altar: the bishop, by receiving the stole, the ring and the cross; the priest, by receiving the stole and the chasuble; the deacon, by receiving the *orarium* and alb.

Braulio was merely an archdeacon at the time but Isidore may have hoped for his elevation to the episcopal dignity. The gift of a ring may be explained by the fact that it was the custom of the time to wear a seal ring.¹⁴⁰

The word pallium meant several things at this time. It was applied to various articles of clothing, as Isidore himself explains in his *Etymologies*.¹⁴¹ Braulio uses the word on one occasion to describe the cloak worn by St. Emilian.¹⁴² Ceillier is probably correct in considering this to be the meaning of the word as used in Letter 2.¹⁴³ Another sense of the word appears in the gift

¹³⁸ W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispanensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, Letter A. *Direximus tibi annulum propter nostrum animum et pallium pro amicitiarum nostrarum amictu,...*

¹³⁹ Mansi, X, 627. Episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, si a gradu suo injuste dejectus in secunda synodo innocens reperiatur, non potest esse quod fuerat, nisi gradus amissos recipiat coram altario, de manu episcopi, orarium, annulum et baculum: si presbyter orarium et planetam: si diaconus, orarium et albam. Cp. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, III, i, 271.—Isidore calls the episcopal ring, “a sign of episcopal honor.” Cf. *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, v, 12 (*P.L.*, 83, 783).

¹⁴⁰ Leclercq, “Anneaux,” *D.A.C.L.*, I, ii (1924), 2182.

¹⁴¹ XIX, 24.

¹⁴² T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 234. Praecidens manicas suae tunicae, cum pallio quo utebatur, obtulit benigne.

¹⁴³ Ceillier, *op. cit.*, XI, 722.

which King Chintila sent to the pope for the altar of St. Peter.¹⁴⁴ As regards its use as an episcopal symbol, a pallium was sent by the pope to a bishop to honor him or at times to signify his primacy in a particular country.¹⁴⁵ Obviously the passage of Isidore's letter cannot refer to such a pallium. Magnin says that for the Spanish bishops there was a second pallium which he thinks might be an *orarium*, and cites this gift of Isidore to Braulio as an example.¹⁴⁶ He does not advert to the fact that Braulio was then an archdeacon and did not become a bishop until several years later.

ELEVATION TO THE SEE OF SARAGOSSA

Even the fact that Braulio was Bishop of Saragossa has not been a matter of unanimity through the centuries. Bishop Wido of Ferrara, writing about 1087, quotes from Letter 5, ascribing it to "Braulius episcopus Galliarum."¹⁴⁷ Dom Luc d'Achery reported a manuscript now lost, a manuscript "nec procul ab Isidori aevo," in which Isidore's *De ordine creaturarum* is dedicated to Braulio "episcopo urbis Romae."¹⁴⁸

The generally accepted date of 631 as the year of Braulio's accession is securely arrived at from various approaches. The safest approach is from his earlier years. Bishop Maximus died in 619.¹⁴⁹ John, Braulio's brother succeeded him and held the see twelve years under Kings Sisebut and Swinthila, according to

¹⁴⁴ G. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianaे urbis Romae vii^o saeculo antiquiores*, Rome, 1888, II, 254; H. Grisar, *Analecta romana*, Rome, 1899, I, 87.

¹⁴⁵ L. Duchesne, *Les origines du culte chrétien*, 4 ed., Paris, 1910, p. 392. Caspar, *op. cit.*, p. 669. For a treatment of the origin and early history of the pallium cf. Leclercq, "Pallium," *D.A.C.L.*, XIII, i (1937), 931-940.

¹⁴⁶ Magnin, *op. cit.*, p. 157, note 6. There is a possibility that the bishops of Gaul were wearing pallia at this time, although Leclercq questions it. Cf. "Pallium," *D.A.C.L.*, XIII, i (1937), 936.

¹⁴⁷ M.G.H., *Libelli de lite*, I, 566.

¹⁴⁸ *Spicilegium*, I, Prologue; *P.L.*, 81, 132, 598; cf. also *supra*, n. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 27, note; also Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, II, ii, 65.

Ildefonse.¹⁵⁰ Swinthila died the same year as John, 631.¹⁵¹ Braulio succeeded John, beginning his rule of nearly twenty years under Sisenand, the successor to Swinthila, again according to the excellent witness, Ildefonse.¹⁵²

Various dates, however, have been given in the past for Braulio's accession to the see of Saragossa. The *Acta Sanctorum*¹⁵³ and the *Enciclopedia universal illustrada*¹⁵⁴ would have him succeeding John in 626, Ceillier¹⁵⁵ and the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*¹⁵⁶ in 627, Anspach¹⁵⁷ in 629 or 630, and Fita in 633.¹⁵⁸ The confusion was due principally to the date one assigns to the accession of King Receswinth to the throne. If Receswinth ruled supreme from 649 on, at which date his father King Chindaswinth raised him to the throne,¹⁵⁹ then Braulio died in or before that year, for the testimony of Ildefonse tells us that Braulio was bishop nearly twenty years under Kings Sisenand, Chintila, Tulga, and Chindaswinth.¹⁶⁰ Receswinth is not men-

¹⁵⁰ For text cf. *supra*, p. 27, note.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Dzialowski, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

¹⁵² *De viris illustribus*, chapter 12 (P.L., 96, 203): Braulio frater Ioannis in Caesaraugusta decadentis adeptus est locum.... Habuit sacerdotium ferme viginti annis; quibus expletis clausit diem vitae praesentis. Duravit in regimine temporibus Sisenandi, Chintilae, Tulganis, et Chindasvithi regum.

¹⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 635.

¹⁵⁴ Conveniently referred to as "Espasa." Cf. *s. v.* "Braulio."

¹⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, XI, 728.

¹⁵⁶ *S. v.* "Braulio."

¹⁵⁷ E. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, p. 180. Cf. *infra*, p. 38, n. 27.

¹⁵⁸ F. Fita, "Lapida de Guadix," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 28 (1896), 407.—Ballesteros y Beretta, contradicting himself, accepts this date from Fita, but since he and others, for example Mabillon, who would disagree with the dates this study accepts, are discussing the date of Braulio's death, we shall take up their arguments at that point. Cf. *infra*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 191.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *supra*, n. 152.

tioned. If Receswinth ruled, at the most, only conjointly with his father till the latter's death about 643, then Braulio's death may be placed any time before that year. We have just proved that Braulio died in 651. This year, then, was considered to be still in the reign of Chindaswinth, at least by Ildefonse, whose testimony stands.

It is easy to surmise how Braulio was elected bishop.¹⁶¹ To begin with, he had been archdeacon under his predecessor. At John's death he was probably elected his successor by the people of the city or of the diocese.¹⁶² He might have been appointed by the king, who certainly had the prerogative at this time,¹⁶³ but it is unlikely. There is no indication of such an appointment and the only two contemporary cases of royal appointment known to us are of metropolitans.¹⁶⁴ He was not elected by the bishops of his province, as the author of the article in "Espasa" would have him,¹⁶⁵ but was undoubtedly either approved by them after election, or by his metropolitan, Bishop Eusebius of Tarragona.¹⁶⁶ The same Eusebius, or a bishop of the province appointed by him, probably consecrated Braulio.¹⁶⁷ His great friend, St. Isidore of Seville, because of his quasi-primacy in Spain at the time, might have officiated, but there are no grounds supporting this pleasing hypothesis. With his elevation Braulio becomes better known to us and his episcopal activities will occupy our attention with few exceptions in the succeeding pages.

¹⁶¹ Magnin, *op. cit.*, p. 141; the whole of chapter 5 is devoted by Magnin to episcopal life in this century. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44, where a full treatment of conciliar legislation and royal prerogatives is given. Cf. also *AA. SS., loc. cit.*, p. 635.

¹⁶² Magnin, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

¹⁶³ Ziegler, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁴ Chindaswinth appointed Eugene to Toledo in 646 (cf. *infra*, p. 159). Sisenand appointed Audax to Tarragona about 633 (cf. *infra*, p. 144). Perhaps Sisebut appointed the bishop to Barcelona whom he orders Eusebius of Tarragona to seat (Letter 6 of the Sisebut corpus, *P.L.*, 80, 370); cf. K. Voigt, *Staat und Kirche*, p. 136.

¹⁶⁵ *S. v. "Braulio."*

¹⁶⁶ Magnin, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁶⁷ Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

CHAPTER II

CORRESPONDENCE WITH ISIDORE: THEIR FRIENDSHIP AND THE PROBLEM OF THE ETYMOLOGIES

WE know from his Letters that Braulio had a wide circle of friends, most of whom were the leading figures of his generation in Spain. Chief among these was St. Isidore, his earliest known correspondent, who wielded so great an influence on his younger contemporary, St. Braulio, that this entire chapter must be devoted to their relations. A succeeding chapter will then be devoted to the other friends of Braulio who are known to us through his correspondence. The present chapter covering the years 610-636 finds its chronological place between Chapters I and III, although it necessarily overlaps both.

Perhaps the best proof we have of the moral and intellectual stature of Braulio is the esteem in which he was held by the greatest figure of the seventh century, Isidore of Seville. The affectionate and serene soul that Spain's Doctor discloses in his works had chosen Braulio as its disciple of predilection.¹ Indeed, as we shall find, there were times when, in analogy with the scholastic dialogues of the next century, the pupil turned master.² Of the little that is known of Isidore's life—surprisingly little, considering the bulk and importance of his writings and his later fame³—much comes from the correspondence that passed between him and Braulio. Isidore's letters as found in his own corpus are limited to twelve;⁴ of these, seven pertain to their

¹ H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 310; Z. García Villada, "La obra de S. Isidoro de Sevilla," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 33.

² M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, Munich, 1926, pp. 104-146.

³ E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, p. 20; M. Menéndez y Pelayo, "San Isidoro," *Estudios de critica literaria*, I, 151.

⁴ The edition of Arévalo is found in *P.L.*, 83, 893-914.

correspondence. An eighth Letter is found introducing the *Etymologies*.⁵ These eight letters, since they are usually found pre-facing the manuscripts of the *Etymologies*, have been edited by Lindsay in his edition of that work.⁶ They are also found in the Braulio corpus as Letters 1-8.⁷ Because of the importance of these letters in establishing facts elsewhere in this work, and because they are the principal source in connection with the problems of the composition and dedication of the *Etymologies*, they must be considered at length here.⁸

The problems presented by Letters 1-8, namely, their dating and interpretation, are extremely involved, particularly those concerning 3-7, which refer to the *Etymologies*. The solution of these problems as presented in the following pages, it is convenient to note here, is built up on a respect for the order of the Letters as found in the Braulio corpus,⁹ and on a respect for the evident meaning of passages in the Letters. Much confusion has arisen of late in this latter connection, because scholars, as we shall see, have been forcing the Letters to bolster an unnecessary hypothesis.¹⁰

⁵ *P.L.*, 82, 73-74. Called both *Etymologiae* and *Origines* by Isidore. H. Koeppel ("De viris illustribus and Isidore of Seville," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 38 (1936), 19, 20) prefers *Ethymologiae*, for which there is good manuscript tradition.

⁶ W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, pages unnumbered.

⁷ Edited by Risco. *P.L.*, 80, 649-655. The manuscripts and editions will be treated *infra*, chapter viii.—Since in the three editions just mentioned the numbering of the Letters varies, and since the authors referred to in these pages vary in the edition employed, a correlating table is furnished on page xi to avoid confusion. The numbering here employed follows the Braulio corpus; the text is that of Lindsay.

⁸ MS 25 (F194) of the Real Academia de la Historia, a codex of the year 946 proceeding from the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, aptly calls these letters *epistolae directoriae*. Cf. W. v. Hartel, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie*, 113 (1886), 529.

⁹ This important point is treated in chapter viii.

¹⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 36.

Taking the Letters in order, we find that Letters 1 and 2 are not especially troublesome. They have never received much consideration chronologically since they do not refer to the *Etymologies*. For that reason and because they are not found along with the six following Letters in many of the manuscripts of the *Etymologies*,¹¹ Lindsay calls them Letters B and A. Because of the tradition in the manuscripts, he believes Letter 2 ante-dates Letter 1. Manitius, giving no reason, is of the same opinion.¹² Against this inversion is not only the content of the two Letters, but the testimony of the lone Leon MS 22 of Braulio's correspondence, which seems to arrange the Letters in a strictly chronological order.¹³ The latest study of these Letters by De Aldama decides, from a study of the content, in favor of the priority of Letter 1.¹⁴ De Aldama is likewise the only author who attempts to date Letter 1.¹⁵ He decides on 610-615, separating it and Letter 2 from the other Letters by many years. It seems better to date it about 620. Braulio was in Seville until John became Bishop of Saragossa in 619.¹⁶ He returned home to become archdeacon to his brother. Before leaving Isidore, or, more probably, shortly after his return, Braulio asked his teacher for a copy of the *Synonyma*. Letter 1 answers him.¹⁷

¹¹ On the number of *Etymologies*' manuscripts cf. B. Altaner, "Der Stand der Isidorforschung," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 4; E. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, p. 38, n. 1.

¹² W. Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *The Classical Quarterly*, V (1911), 51. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 60.

¹³ Cf. *infra*, p. 207.

¹⁴ J. de Aldama, "Cronología de las obras Isidorianas," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 65-67.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 88.

¹⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 27.

¹⁷ In Christo karissimo et dilectissimo Braulioni archediacono Isidorus. Quia non valeo te perfruere oculis carnis, perfruar saltem alloquis, ut ipsa mihi sit consolatio, incolomem litteris cognoscere quem cupio videre. Vtrumque bonum esset si liceret; sed vel mente de te reficiar, si corporali

Isidore to the archdeacon Braulio, his beloved and dear one in Christ.

Since I am not able to enjoy you with the eyes of the flesh, may I enjoy at least word with you, in order that I may have the consolation of knowing by letter that you whom I desire to see are well. Both would be good, if permissible; but at least may I be refreshed in mind about you, if I can not be by bodily sight. When we were together, I asked you to send me the sixth decade of St. Augustine. I ask you to help me in every way to know him. We have sent you the little book of *Synonyma*, not because it is of any use, but because you wished for it. . . . Again, I beg you, . . . see to it that you gratify us with word from you.

De Aldama decides rightly that the Letter is written to Braulio before 631, the year in which he became bishop, because it is addressed to him as archdeacon. He believes rightly that Braulio was living in Saragossa from 619 on. He believes rightly that the *Dum pariter essemus* of the Letter indicates that they were together recently, since Isidore can recall to Braulio a commission enjoined before they were separated. How then does he arrive at such an early date as 610-615? Because "the date on which the composition of the *Etymologies* was completed makes it necessary. . ." ¹⁸ De Aldama, with other contemporary authorities, has been hampered by a decision to date the *Etymologies* as completed in 620. That this is an error will be shown in the next few pages. Continuing, de Aldama argues, not without reason, that the work took seven years to complete, and that Braulio in his Letters gives us the impression that he left Isidore shortly after the work was begun. Hence he arrives at the date of 613. But, to do this, de Aldama would have to make Braulio an archdeacon as early as 610-615 under Maximus,

obtutu non valeo. Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te ut mihi decada sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres. Posco ut quoquo modo me cognitum eum facias. [The text of this sentence is evidently corrupt, but the general meaning seems clear.] Misimus vobis Synonimorum libellum, non pro id quod alicuius utilitatis sit, sed quia eum volueras. . . . De cetero peto ut . . . vestris nos iubeatis laetificare eloquiis.

¹⁸ De Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

Bishop of Saragossa, (c. 599-619). He more plausibly received that position from his brother after 619. It is unlikely that John would have come up from an inferior ecclesiastical position and have taken a position superior to his own.¹⁹ De Aldama thinks the date 610-615 is strengthened by a passage in Letter 3, Braulio to Isidore, dated by him 625, which reads: ". . . I am tortured with a weighty sorrow, in that I do not even now deserve to see your face after such a long time."²⁰ To him this would indicate the time that has elapsed between 610 or 612 and 625. It could apply equally well to the time between 620 and 625. Finally de Aldama would date the *Synonyma* from this Letter and from the position of the work in the *Praenotatio* of St. Braulio.²¹ The latter reason is valid, the former invalid. The work was requested and was sent, a work which Braulio now needed in Saragossa in his teaching. It might have been written years before the request.

Father de Aldama is again the only one who attempts to date Letter 2. He argues correctly that it is prior to 631, since it is addressed to the archdeacon Braulio, and posterior to Letter 1 (610-615). For the same reasons we would narrow the date to 620-631. Letter 2 tells us that Isidore is sending his friend a *quaternio regularum*, which is very probably a quire of his *Regula monachorum*, a work written 615-618.²² De Aldama accepts this date and, because of the mention in the letter, assigns the same date to Letter 2.²³ But there seems to be no reason to decide that the work mentioned has just been finished. This disregards the possibilities of delays in copying a manuscript,²⁴ and the likelihood that Braulio, back in Saragossa, writes to Isi-

¹⁹ On the importance of the archdiaconate cf. *supra*, p. 28.

²⁰ . . . gravi dolore discrucior, *quod emenso tempore tam prolixo vel nunc vestrum non mereor videre conspectum.*

²¹ The *Praenotatio*, or catalog of Isidore's works, is discussed in chapter ix.

²² Cf. *infra*, p. 179.

²³ De Aldama, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 88.

²⁴ For the time taken to copy a manuscript, cf. *infra*, p. 166.

dore for a work with which he became acquainted while at Seville and the need of which has only now arisen. The date 620-624 seems preferable for these added reasons: the first two sentences of Letter 2 tell us that the desired correspondence, mentioned in Letter 1, is being continued;²⁵ the chronological order of the Leon MS 22 and of the *Praenotatio* is respected; Braulio is not an archdeacon before 620; and finally the date 625 is assigned to Letter 3.²⁶

Letters 3-7 refer to the *Etymologies* directly or indirectly; hence they have been closely studied in the past.²⁷ The later writers have missed the forest because of the trees;²⁸ this study

²⁵ Dum amici litteras, karissime fili, suscipis, eas pro amico amplectere non moreris. Ipsa est enim secunda inter absentes consolatio ut, si non est praesens quod diligitur, pro eo litterae complexentur. Anspach (*op. cit.*, p. 42) criticizes Lindsay for the reading *Dum a mihi* of his edition. Lindsay had already corrected the reading to *Dum amici* in his short note "The Title of Isidore's *Etymologies*" in *The Classical Review*, 32 (1918), 69-70.

²⁶ It is unfortunate that the gifts to Braulio, a ring and a pallium, mentioned in Letter 2, do not aid in dating it. Cf. *supra*, p. 29.

²⁷ Cf. Arévalo, *P.L.*, 81, 123-125, 313-320; Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-47; de Aldama, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-71. Since the work of Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera* (Madrid, 1930) is of great importance in this field and will be referred to frequently here, it is imperative that the reader be advised about it. Written in Latin in 1927 by Eduard Anspach, the authority on *Isidoriana* to-day, who has been engaged in editing Isidore for the Vienna Corpus some twenty-five years (cf. Altaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8), the work was not published until 1930 and in Spain, under the aegis of the Centro de Estudios Históricos and the supervision of Zacarías García Villada. The work is one of extreme carelessness and a pitfall to the one seeking to use its valuable passages. The abbreviations and lack of punctuation are confusing. The addenda and corrigenda fill pages. The references to the Letters of Lindsay's edition are in almost every case incorrect. There is no index or table of contents. For reviews—and they were too favorable—see: Z. García Villada, *Estudios eclesiásticos*, X (1931), 214; G. Cirot, *Bulletin hispanique*, 35 (1933), 184-186; W. S. Porter, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 35 (1934), 108-109; Altaner, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

²⁸ When this was written, the author was yet to discover, that W. M. Lindsay, who is included in the criticism, had written: "An editor must not lay himself open to the gibe that 'the wood cannot be seen for the trees.'" ("The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *The Classical Quarterly*, V (London, 1911), 49.) The remark is not meant as a gibe.

leads back to the simpler solutions of Arévalo, that very able editor of Isidore and *Isidoriana*²⁹—with improvements, it is hoped. The confusion arose in the attempts made to settle the date of publication of the *Etymologies*; the storm-center is the five-lined Letter 7, the preface proper and dedication of the *Etymologies*. Was this Letter addressed to King Sisebut in 620 or to Braulio in 632?³⁰ This work attempts a solution.

After Isidore's death in 636, Braulio wrote in the *Praenotatio*:³¹

He (Isidore) published . . . the codex of the *Etymologies*, a work of vast size, divided by him into titles, but not into books; which work, because he made it at my request, and although he himself left it unfinished, I divided into twenty books.

This entry by Braulio is the last in a catalog of seventeen works of Isidore, a catalog arranged chronologically according to all recent critics.³² Anspach, seeking to establish 620 as the year in which the *Etymologies* was published and dedicated to Sisebut, does not answer this chronological argument from the catalog, and faced by *quem rogatu meo fecit*, he decides the passage means: *quem rogatu meo transcribi jussit*. *Imperfectum* he decides either equals *inemendatum*, or its whole clause was interpolated.³³ De Aldama, pursuing the same end, disregards

²⁹ Dom Paul Séjourné in his important *Saint Isidore de Séville*, Paris, 1929, p. 30, calls him “*sagace auteur*” and the *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (*vide supra*) devotes an article to his praise. On the other hand, the debt of Arévalo to John Grial and his Madrid edition of Isidore's works in 1599 must not be forgotten. Cf. *P.L.*, 81, 214-216 and Lindsay, *The Classical Quarterly*, *loc. cit.*, p. 42.

³⁰ Cf. Altaner, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³¹ *P.L.*, 81, 16: Edidit . . . *Etymologiarum* codicem nimia magnitudine, distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris: *quem quia rogatu meo fecit*, quamvis *imperfectum* ipse reliquerit, ego in viginti libros divisi.—Anspach (*op. cit.*, p. 44) reads: *quia imperfectum reliquit*, and adds that the words may be an interpolation, since they are missing in some manuscripts.

³² Cf. *infra*, p. 217.

³³ Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 44.—It is of interest to note that Garcia Villada

the argument of *rogatu meo*, and avoids the chronological problem by making the *Etymologies* the only exception to the chronological rule.³⁴ Braulio's testimony, however, is singularly strengthened by the testimony of Ildefonse, who writes:³⁵ "Isidore wrote also, as his last work, and at the petition of Braulio, the bishop of Saragossa, the book of *Etymologies*, which, although he tried for years to finish it, he would seem to have been still working on when death came." This testimony is ignored by Anspach and de Aldama.

In Letter 3, written by Braulio to Isidore, as we shall see shortly, about the year 625, a date from which authorities vary little, we read:³⁶

Next I mention earnestly, and beg by every manner and means, that you, mindful of your promise, see to it that your servant is provided with the book of *Etymologies*, which now, in God's goodness, we hear is completed; because, as I realize, much of your labor on it was due to your servant's insistence.

Anspach and de Aldama faced with these words, decide that Braulio is here asking only for a copy of the work completed in 620. They explain that it took Braulio four years to hear of the work's completion; this is at least consistent with their theory that it took Braulio twelve years to get a copy of the original.³⁷

(*Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 205), although very familiar with Anspach's decision in this matter, does not follow it.

³⁴ De Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

³⁵ Chapter 9, of Ildefonse's *De viris illustribus*, P.L., 96, 202, or G. von Dzialowski, *Isidor und Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker*, p. 140. Scripsit quoque in ultimo ad petitionem Braulionis Caesaraugeustani episcopi librum Etymologiarum, quem cum multis annis conaretur perficere, in eius opere diem extremum visus est conclusisse.

³⁶ Suggero sane et omnimoda supplicatione deposeco ut librum Etymologiarum, quem jam favente Domino audivimus consummatum, promissionis vestrae memores servo vestro dirigere jubeatis, quia, ut mihi conscientius sum, magna ibi ex parte servi tui postulatione sudasti....

³⁷ Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 44; De Aldama, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 85.

With these quotations in sight, it is easy to understand Isidore's words in Letter 6, generally granted the date 632, "On the way (from Seville to Toledo) I sent you (Braulio) the *Codex Etymologiarum*, and, although uncorrected because of my health, I was anxious to present it to you now for the sake of emendation. . ." ³⁸ With the work there came the dedicatory Letter 7 beginning, "Accompanying this, please find, as I have promised you, the work on the origin of certain things. . ." ³⁹ Anspach and De Aldama admit the evidence of Letter 6, but only as referring to a copy. Anspach, in truth, goes further and designates this copy as the second edition of the work.⁴⁰ Their attitude toward Letter 7 is the crux of the problem.

Until Lindsay's edition of 1911, Letter 7 was always considered to be one from Isidore to Braulio. Earlier editors were not unaware of the problem that manuscripts were extant giving King Sisebut (620) as the recipient.⁴¹ Lindsay for reasons of manuscript tradition, separated it from the other dedicatory Letters, placing it immediately before the *Etymologies*, and addressed it to Sisebut.⁴² Anspach and De Aldama approve.⁴³ If accepting this dedication means, with them, that the com-

³⁸ Codicem Etymologiarum . . . de itinere transmisi, et, licet inemendatum prae invaliditudine, tamen tibi modo ad emendandum studueram offerre, . . .

³⁹ En tibi, sicut pollicitus sum, misi opus de origine quarundam rerum, . . .

⁴⁰ De Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 43. Because of the corrigendum on p. 180, it is difficult to know whether Anspach retains his theory of this being a second edition, or not. Porter (*op. cit.*, p. 108) is probably right in assuming he does. His attitude on the editions probably remains the one expressed on p. 45. The unknown author of the Prologue to Anspach's work added to the confusion of the work with his conflicting statements on the first edition, giving both 620 and 637 for the same.

⁴¹ *P.L.*, 81, 319-320. Letter 7 is not found with the Isidorean corpus of Letters. It occupies, however, its accustomed place prefacing the *Etymologies*. Cf. *ibid.*, 82, 73.

⁴² Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *Class. Quar.*, V (1911), 51.

⁴³ Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 41; De Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

pleted *Etymologies* appeared in 620, the other Letters concerning the *Etymologies* are inexplicable. Lindsay would make an explanation possible by speaking of the publication in 620 as "abortive,"⁴⁴ and on another occasion making this observation, which is too little known by users of his edition of the *Etymologies*:⁴⁵

I do not know that we can extort from the opening words (of Letter 7) certain evidence that a copy had already been sent to Sisebut. Isidore may have composed the Preface under the idea that the book would be presented without delay but have changed his mind and delayed the presentation.

Anspach, who knows the manuscript tradition of these writings better than any one, tells us that there are many good manuscripts with Letter 7 addressed to Sisebut, many with it addressed to Braulio; in many cases it is addressed to both or both names are omitted.⁴⁶ Sisebut's claim is a strong one and this study does not aim to deny it. The solution of the problem is undoubtedly the one used by the writer of the Bordeaux MS 709 in the twelfth century: the work was dedicated first to Sisebut and afterwards to Braulio.⁴⁷ To fill in now, with the harmonizing lines of minor details.

Some time before 619, while Braulio was living with Isidore in Seville, the student suggested, as we have seen, that the

⁴⁴ Lindsay, "The Title of Isidore's *Etymologies*," *The Classical Review*, 32 (1918), 69.

⁴⁵ *Class. Quar., loc. cit.* Had Anspach known of these statements by Lindsay, he perhaps would not have criticized him for addressing Letter 7 to Sisebut and at the same time editing the *Chronica Breviora* of the *Etymologies* (V, 39, 42) to the year 627. Cf. Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴⁶ Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-39. Here Anspach reminds us that we are dealing with hundreds of manuscripts. He gives examples of the manuscripts of each group. This study would insist that, in establishing the texts of the Letters, Lindsay and Anspach have not given the Leon MS 22 its due.

⁴⁷ Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 37. An argument against the date of 620 could quite probably be evolved from the use by Isidore of the *Homilies* of Gregory the Great. Cf. De Aldama, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 75.

master write an encyclopaedia, very probably for purposes of higher education.⁴⁸ Various parts of it, including the *Chronica Breviora* which Anspach finds edited in some manuscripts only to the year 620,⁴⁹ were made public in the first half of that year, and were dedicated to King Sisebut, who died in July.⁵⁰ It was natural: the Primate of Spain dedicated his greatest work to a close friend, the King of Spain. Braulio was not even an archdeacon at the time. Hence, if there is any weight to Anspach's distinction, Letter 7 to Sisebut reads: *En tibi sicut pollicitus sum*, and not: *sicut promisi*, as it would have read, if sent to Braulio. Isidore himself knew that: *promittimus rogati, pollicemur ultro.*⁵¹ Braulio had done the asking, and, as far as we know, not the King.

As the years passed the earlier parts were elaborated and new *tituli* were added; there was no order. Bourret's perspicacious theory of the last century, that the work was but a résumé of Isidore's lessons at Seville, is fitting in smoothly with our latest theories. Brehaut, who has given much consideration to this aspect, believes the parts that could be used as text-books went

⁴⁸ Braulio in the *Praenotatio* says the reader of the *Etymologies*: "... will not be ignorant of things human and divine. There is... treatment of the several arts in this work which comprises almost all that ought to be known." *P.L.*, 81, 16: ...non ignotus divinarum humanarumque rerum ...erit. Ibi redundans diversarum artium elegantia, ubi quaecunque fere sciri debentur, restricta collegit. The echo of Cassiodorus is not accidental here. Isidore used him verbatim in Books 2 and 3. Cf. Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *The Classical Quarterly*, V (1911), 42.—The educational intent and content of this work are treated at length by E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, pp. 81-88.

⁴⁹ Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37. This *Chronica* in *Etymologies*, V, 39 (*P.L.*, 82, 224-228) is a syncopated edition of Isidore's *Chronica* of 615. Its inclusion is indicative of the encyclopaedic nature of the *Etymologies*.

⁵⁰ This date is accepted by Séjourné, Brehaut, Anspach and De Aldama. A. Ziegler and Z. García Villada (*Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 186) give 621.

⁵¹ Taken from Isidore's *Differentiae* 1, 439 (*P.L.*, 83, 55). Cp. Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

into circulation immediately. And Anspach speaks of parts of the whole work issued separately in books so to speak, before the year 632; such parts are to-day found separately in manuscripts.⁵² These are, in the words of Braulio's Letter 5 of the year 632, the "books of *Origines*, composed by you" which are "to be found in the hands of many, torn and worn."⁵³

In the year 625 St. Braulio wrote Letter 3 to Isidore complaining, among other things, of their long separation and asking that the *Etymologies* be sent on to him, for he has just heard that the work is finished.⁵⁴ How is the date 625 settled upon? In Migne the Letter is entitled "of Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa;" a title due to Risco's belief that the Letter was written in 633.⁵⁵ Arévalo saw the light and pointed out that it is to be dated from the words of Letter 5, itself written certainly in 632. "The seventh year has rolled around, if I mistake not, since I remember having asked you for the books of *Origines*, written by you. . ."⁵⁶ Séjourné strengthens this date of 625 by holding that the synod, of which Braulio requests the acts in Letter 3, took place in Seville in 624.⁵⁷ Anspach falls into confusion, dates

⁵² J.-C. Bourret, *L'École chrétienne de Séville*, p. 83; Brehaut, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 81-88; Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 48. M. Menéndez y Pelayo is in agreement; cf. "Saint Isidore et l'importance de son rôle dans l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Espagne," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 7 série, 7 (1882), I, 269. Séjourné (*op. cit.*, p. 45) believes Isidore gave the parts out to friends with permission to alter them as they might wish.

⁵³ . . . libros a te conditos Originum . . . detruncatos conrososque jam multis haberí. There seems to be no reason for taking *conditos* in the sense of *collectos* as Anspach does (*op. cit.*, p. 42).

⁵⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

⁵⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 650. Braulionis episcopi Caesaraugustani ad Isidorum. Cf. Risco, *España Sagrada*, 30, 152, 175. Pérez de Urbel in a recent work (*Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 358) apparently for the same reason dates this Letter 632.

⁵⁶ Septimum, ni fallor, annum tempora gyrant, ex quo memini me libros a te conditos Originum postulasse . . . —For Arévalo cf. *P.L.*, 81, 123-125, 314-315.

⁵⁷ Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 30. Skepticism on this point is expressed by

the Letter as of 627, makes it posterior to Letter 5, then changes the date of Letter 3 to 623 in a corrigendum. Anspach, however, has one happy thought which must be kept in mind for what it might bring some day. Some manuscripts show the *Chronica* of the *Etymologies* to have been edited to the year 627. Could this second edition of the work, as Anspach calls it, have been the completed work that Braulio heard about, and mentioned in Letter 3?⁵⁸ To place Letter 3 in this year 627 would necessitate the translation of *septimum annum* in Letter 5 (632) as "about the seventh year." De Aldama, in treating of the date of Letter 3, gives us an example of how difficult it is to discuss Anspach's dating.⁵⁹ He finally decides on 625, which seems to be correct. He proposes another argument in favor of this date, one based on the order of episcopal subscriptions to a council. As we shall see, this is not a safe argument to employ.⁶⁰

Braulio had been misinformed; the work had not been finished. The years passed and the *commercium epistolarum*⁶¹ continued. All of the letters have not come down to us.⁶² In Letter 4 St. Isidore meekly confesses to St. Braulio in a charming personal note that he mislaid his last letter before reading it. This Letter is addressed to Braulio the Bishop, and does not mention the *Etymologies*. For this last reason, the date of the Letter has been seldom discussed. De Aldama gives it the date of 631-632, since it was written after Braulio became bishop (631) and before

G. Le Bras, "Sur la part d'Isidore de Séville et des Espagnols dans l'histoire des collections canoniques," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, X (1930), 227, n. 1.

⁵⁸ Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41, 44, 180. Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

⁵⁹ De Aldama, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

⁶⁰ On the danger of arguing chronologically from the position of a bishop's signature to the acts of a council, cf. *infra*, p. 192.

⁶¹ An appellation given the correspondence by MS 15,9, a Toledan manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Cf. H. Grubbs, *A Supplement to the Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal*, p. 129.

⁶² Cf. *infra*, p. 206.

Letter 5 (632).⁶³ In Letter 5 Braulio lists among the reasons that have contrived to keep the *Etymologies* from his hands: "my letter was lost," manifestly alluding to Isidore's remark in Letter 4.⁶⁴ It is the last of several reasons given, in chronological order as we shall see; hence it probably follows Letter 4 in sequence. Letter 5 is very long and seems to be the willing correspondent, Braulio, fulfilling Isidore's request in Letter 4 to "re-write to me" what was contained in the lost letter.⁶⁵ Therefore Letter 5 (632) seems to be a speedy answer to Isidore's Letter 4. This, combined with the fact that there is no mention made of Braulio's accession (631) to the see of Saragossa as of something recent, seems to point to the year 632 as a more exact date for Letter 4.

The date of the important Letter 5 is indicated clearly at the end of the same by Braulio's reference to the vacant see of Tarragona. The metropolitan Eusebius is dead and his successor is discussed with St. Isidore.⁶⁶ Historians are agreed that Eusebius died in 632 and that Audax, his successor, was installed some time before December 5, 633, at which time he attended the Fourth Council of Toledo and signed the acts as Metropolitan of Tarragona.⁶⁷ The greater part of this long letter deals with the *Etymologies*. Braulio boldly and cleverly details the reasons

⁶³ De Aldama, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 88.

⁶⁴ ... meas litteras intercidisse ...

⁶⁵ ... rescribe mihi ...

⁶⁶ ... suggero ut, quia Eusebius, metropolitanus noster, decessit, habeas misericordiae curam, et hoc filio, nostro domino, suggestas, ut illum illi loco praeficiat, cuius doctrina et sanctitas ceteris sit vitae forma.

⁶⁷ Arévalo, Gams, De Aldama, and Lambert would support this date. Dzialowski (*op. cit.*, p. 96) would have to make the date 630 or 631 to be consistent. Anspach (*op. cit.*, pp. 180, 40) would have to do the same, were he to consider the matter. At this point Anspach is further confused by a decision to make Braulio bishop in 630. Should there be any doubt as to whether Braulio was a bishop at the time Letters 5 and 6 were written (Anspach, *ibid.*; De Aldama, *op. cit.*, p. 69) we may note that the salutation of Letter 6 corroborates it, and Braulio's solicitude about the successor to Eusebius bespeaks the bishop.

for his exasperation in regard to this work. Because he has not yet received a copy of a work finished twelve years before, as Anspach would have it? Not at all! In such a case he would have expressed anger, not impatience, judging by the tone of Letter 5. His exasperation is with the unfinished state of this great work, a work which Isidore owes to the people at large. The variations on this last theme fill half the Letter. Quotations from the Letter, it will be noticed, seem to support the theory built up in these pages, with no coercion of the context whatsoever.⁶⁸

The seventh year has rolled around, if I mistake not, since I remember having asked you for the books of the *Origines*, composed by you. I was unsuccessful in getting them when I was with you, and you have written nothing about them to me in my absence, but with subtle delay you have objected, now that they were not finished, now that they were not copied, now that my letter was lost, as well as many other reasons, so that we have come to this day and are still without the fulfillment of our petition. . . .

Of this moreover I have knowledge, that the books of the *Etymologies*, which I ask from you, my Lord, are already in the possession of many, torn and worn. Hence I ask that you deign to send them to me transcribed, integral, emended, and well fitted together. . . .

Braulio in a manner habitual with him, has listed the reasons for his disappointment chronologically.⁶⁹ "These episodes," says a recent author, "sufficiently prove that the gestation of

⁶⁸ Septimum, ni fallor, annum tempora gyrrant, ex quo memini me libros a te conditos Originum postulasse, et vario diversoque modo et praesentem me frustratum esse et absenti nihil inde vos rescriptsisse, sed subtili dilatatione modo needum esse perfectos, modo needum esse scriptos, modo meas litteras intercidisse aliaque multa opponens ad hanc usque diem pervenimus et sine petitionis effectu manemus... Ergo et hoc notesco, libros Etymologiarum, quos a te, domino meo, posco, etsi detruncatos conrososque jam multis haberi. Inde rogo ut eos mihi transcriptos, integros, emendatos et bene coaptatos dignemini mittere... Read H. Leclercq's lively paraphrase: "Bibliothèques," *D.A.C.L.*, II (1925), 876.

⁶⁹ The order is evident. For other examples of order in Braulio's work cf. p. 205.

the *Etymologies* was slow and painful, like the gestation of every great work.”⁷⁰

This Letter 5 reached Isidore while he was in Toledo as he himself tells us in Letter 6. He had just arrived from Seville for a council which the king had revoked.⁷¹ Hearing of the revocation while on the way and knowing that he would not see Braulio in Toledo as a result, he dispatched *de itinere* the codex of the *Etymologies*.⁷² Letter 6 is evidently an immediate answer to Braulio’s Letter 5 and of the same year, 632.⁷³ He refers to the dispatch of the *Etymologies* and to the matter of the vacancy in the see of Tarragona, but though he speaks of the council that has been revoked makes no mention of the one that was to be held in December of 633. It may have been sent from Toledo by the deacon who had brought Braulio’s Letter 5. The work was not completed. Isidore sends it “uncorrected because of my health” and “for the sake of emendation.”⁷⁴ Apart from the trials of the journey, Isidore, now seventy-two years of age,⁷⁵ is in poor health. “Weak and exhausted” he describes himself in the same Letter 6.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ E. Elorduy, “St. Isidoro. Unidad orgánica de su educación reflejada en sus escritos,” *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 293-322. This exiled Jesuit has undertaken primarily the unenviable task of proving that Isidore was not a compiler. On pages 318 and 319 his description of the evolution of the *Etymologies* agrees with that of this work. He avoids the mention of dates, however, and in one place speaks of Letter 5 as though he believes it to antedate 632 by many years.

⁷¹ This is the only reference we have to this cancelled council.

⁷² Codicem Etymologiarum cum aliis codicibus de itinere transmisi . . .

⁷³ Anspach (*op. cit.*, pp. 45, 180) is not to be followed even in his corrigenda. His date of 631 does not account for the vacant seat of Tarragona. De Aldama (*op. cit.*, p. 70) by selecting 633 would have Isidore coming futilely to Toledo for a revoked council, although one was held in December of that year. Arévalo (*P.L.*, 81, 142, 125) holds 630 as the date. Manitius (*op. cit.*, I, 61) makes it “shortly before his death.”

⁷⁴ . . . licet inemendatum prae invaletudine, tamen tibi modo ad emendandum studueram offerre . . .

⁷⁵ *P.L.*, 81, 141; Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 9. ⁷⁶ . . . debilis atque fessus . . .

With the *Etymologies* went the dedicatory Letter 7, which had presumably remained at the beginning of the work since the time it had been sent to King Sisebut, but with the salutation changed from *Domino filio Sisebuto* to the form which the manuscripts and centuries know better: *Domino meo et Dei servo Braulioni episcopo*, as in the Leon MS 22.⁷⁷ *Pollicitus sum* was not changed to *promisi* as inconsequential.

Braulio did not now attempt to complete the work. He tells us, as has been pointed out, that it came to him unfinished and that he divided it into books. Ildefonse tells us that Isidore seems to have been still working on the encyclopaedia at the time of his death four years later (636).⁷⁸ There are manuscripts with the *Chronicle* of Book V edited to 637.⁷⁹ In this year, we may surmise, Braulio edited the *Etymologies* as we have it today: divided into books,⁸⁰ "transcribed, integral, emended, and well fitted together,"⁸¹ details that he had asked Isidore to attend to, *but not complete*. This work was never completed. Braulio put an end to its loose-leaf encyclopaedic days, but did not complete it. What corrections and additions he might have made, we do not know;⁸² those he did not make, we know. "There is neither preface nor peroration; some sections are unwritten, many references not filled in."⁸³ As examples of the

⁷⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 654. Though the other prefatory letters are sometimes missing in manuscripts of the *Etymologies*, Letter 7 never is.—For the dedication to Sisebut see above, p. 41.

⁷⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 40.

⁷⁹ Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 40. These might be the Spanish manuscripts that Lindsay ("The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *The Classical Quarterly*, V (1911), 45) writes of as possessing the peculiar interpolation of an account of Saragossa in XV, 1, 66, perhaps at the hand of Braulio.

⁸⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 39. As to the problem of how many books, cf. *infra*, p. 215.

⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 47.

⁸² Cf. P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, Paris, 1924, p. 697; Manitius, *op. cit.*, I, 61; Elorduy, *op. cit.*, p. 319; M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900*, p. 92.

⁸³ M. R. James, "Learning and Literature till the Death of Bede," *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 490.

last, Elorduy points to three lacunae in the text.⁸⁴ Hence earlier authorities are to be followed when they explain Braulio's description of the work as *imperfectum* to mean more than that the work simply needed division into books; this against Anspach, who believes the work came to Braulio perfect, but not *complete perfectus*.⁸⁵ Brehaut's conjecture that the *imperfectum* might refer to the absence of the higher or mystical meanings in the *Etymologies*, as they are found in Rabanus Maurus' *De universo*, is not sound.⁸⁶

In Letter 6 Isidore, feeling his age and disappointed not to find Braulio in Toledo, expresses his ardent desire of seeing him.⁸⁷ This desire was satisfied at the Fourth Council held in Toledo in December of the next year (633).⁸⁸ Letter 8 closes their correspondence with a note of beauty not uncommon for these two friends. Isidore was about seventy-five years of age; death was a year away.⁸⁹

To my Lord, the servant of God, Bishop Braulio, Isidore.

With every desire have I desired to see now your face, and would that God might grant my wish some time before I die. For the present, however, I beg that you commend me to God in your prayers, that He may fulfill my hope in this life and grant me to

⁸⁴ Words that are entered but not identified: Lycaonia, *Etymologies* XIV, 3, 42; Pamphylia, *ibid.*, 44; congrus, *ibid.*, XII, 6, 44 (P.L., 82, 455, 503). Cf. Elorduy, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁸⁵ Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁸⁶ Brehaut, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁸⁷ Amplexus sum et legi, et de salute tua Deo gratias egi desiderio omni desiderans, quamvis debilis atque fessus, fiduciam tamen habere per Christum in hac vita videndi te, . . .

⁸⁸ J. Mansi, X, 643.

⁸⁹ Domno meo et Dei servo Braulioni episcopo Isidorus. Omni desiderio desideravi nunc videre faciem tuam, et utinam aliquando impleret Deus votum meum, antequam moriar. Ad praesens autem deprecor ut commendes me Deo orationibus tuis, ut et in hac vita spem meam impleat et in futuro beatitudinis tuae consortium mihi concedat. Et manu sua. Ora pro nobis, beatissime domne et frater.

share your beatitude in heaven. (and in his own hand⁸⁹) Pray for us, blessed lord and brother.

This Letter was written sometime between the Fourth Council and the death of St. Isidore, January 634 and April 4, 636. Without good reason De Aldama dates it 631.⁹¹ For the later date we offer the reasons found in the tone of the Letter, a man sick unto death calling to a friend, and in the fact that the Leon MS 22 places it last in the correspondence. Isidore's call was in vain. Braulio was unable to be with him even at his death, and the priest Redemptus, notified Braulio in a descriptive letter of the death, "because of the solicitude you hold for him out of love."⁹²

* * * * *

It is delightful to turn for a few pages to the more human relations of these two friends. Beneath the close argumentation of the foregoing problem could be felt a warmth of feeling between the two flowing from Letter to Letter.⁹³ Were it not for these eight Letters, Isidore the scholar would be known to us only as a pedantic polymath. He is still thought of as a recluse, a studious spirit of immense erudition, an intrepid copyist, the great compiler, lacking originality. This is stated

⁸⁹ The words "*et manu sua*" occur in several of Isidore's letters and in a few of Braulio's. Evidently they are an indication by a scribe that the words following, which are always a request for prayers in Isidore's letters, were written by the hand of the author. In the letters of Augustine and other African bishops the words "*et alia manu*" are found. They ordinarily seem to be an indication that the one dictating the letter took the pen from the scribe and wrote the following words himself. Cf. H. Leclercq, "Lettres chrétiennes," *D.A.C.L.*, VIII, ii, 2838.

⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁹² ... pro hac sollicitudine, quam ex amore in eum offertis, ... *P.L.*, 81, 30. For a treatment of the manuscripts of the letter and a discussion as to whether it was addressed to Braulio or not, see *ibid.*, 32-35. Cf. also, J. Pérez Llamazares, "S. Isidoro de Sevilla, monje?" *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, 45. A tenth-century manuscript (no. A 115) of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid offers strong manuscript proof for making Braulio the recipient of the letter. Cf. Hartel, *op. cit.*, 113, 85-86.

⁹³ Cf. García Villada, *Historia* . . . , II, ii, 199.

not only by Leclercq, but also by the Spanish scholar, Menéndez y Pelayo.⁹⁴ Here in these Letters we can find him vivacious and eloquent, tender and calm.⁹⁵ He remained the etymologist, even in such a surge of tenderness as Letter 2 contains.⁹⁶

When you receive the letters of a friend, dear son, hasten to embrace them for your absent friend. This is, indeed, a substitute consolation for parted friends, that, if the one loved is not present, his letters may be embraced in his stead. We have sent you a ring because of our affection, and a pallium as a bond of our friendship, since of old the word *amicitia* was derived from *amictus*. Pray for me. May the Lord inspire you to let me see you again in this life and to once again gladden me with your presence, who have been saddened by your departure.

The same sentiments of affection we found expressed in Letters 1 and 8.⁹⁷ What did he find in Braulio to inspire them? The laborious Doctor of Spain saw more than the promising student and young secretary in the man of twenty-five years who came to him from Saragossa and passed ten years in his *familia*. His display of friendship did not begin when Braulio had become a bishop. Three of their Letters are before that period in date. Isidore saw in him a fellow-spirit of refined Hispano-roman stock, a sympathetic friend, a lover of study and of books. He perhaps envied in him a practical turn of mind and that inclination, to which Isidore could never bring himself, for the classics.

⁹⁴ Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 308-310; Brehaut, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 262. A recent work denies stoutly the contentions of Schenk, Schmekel, and Philipp ("Isidorus von Sevilla," Pauly-Wissowa, IX, 2069-2080) that Isidore was merely a compiler; cf. E. Elorduy, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-319.

⁹⁵ Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 73; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁹⁶ Dum amici litteras, karissime fili, suscipis, eas pro amico amplectere non moreris. Ipsa est enim secunda inter absentes consolatio ut, si non est praesens quod diligitur, pro eo litterae complexentur. Direximus tibi annulum propter nostrum animum et pallium pro amicitiarum nostrarum amictu, unde antiquitus hoc traxit vocabulum. Ora igitur pro me; inspireret tibi Dominus ut merear adhuc in hac vita videre te, et, quem maestificasti abeundo, aliquando iterum laetifices te praesentando.

⁹⁷ Cf. *supra*, pp. 36, 50.

Braulio was more of a humanist than Isidore. But to speak of Isidore as an enemy of the classics and an anti-humanist, is to malign him, as this very friendship proves.⁹⁸

Only two of the eight Letters are from Braulio to Isidore, but judging by them Braulio was only a little less affectionate, a little more independent, in the friendship. Letter 3 finds him writing:⁹⁹

For I, God knows, am tortured with a weighty sorrow, in that I do not even now deserve to see your face after such a long time. But I hope in Him, who forgets not to show mercy (Ps. 76, 10), nor casts off to the end (Ps. 43, 23), that He will hear the prayer of a poor mortal and will bring miserable me to the sight of you.

Then follows a request. Therein Braulio is typical. His friendship is a more selfish one than Isidore's. The lengthy Letters 3 and 5, as well as his lost letters to Isidore are filled with requests, commands, and almost threats, nor are they in reference to the *Etymologies* alone.¹⁰⁰ A peculiar ascendancy is betrayed here of the pupil over the master. Not that Braulio lacks respect. Titles are reserved for Isidore which no one else received. Isidore in his "summus episcopus;" he is addressed "O pie domine et virorum praestantissime," and called "lucerna ardens et non marcescens."¹⁰¹ After Isidore's death, respect for his memory in Letters to others, is as great, and the Eulogy of Isidore a magnificent tribute.¹⁰² To Isidore in Letter 2, Braulio

⁹⁸ The attitude of these two friends towards the classics will be discussed at length in chapter vi.

⁹⁹ Nam ego, Christus novit, gravi dolore discrucior, quod emenso tempore tam prolixo vel nunc vestrum non mereor videre conspectum. Sed spero in illum, qui non obliviscitur misereri, nec repellit in finem, quia exaudiet precem pauperis et vestro me miserum repraesentat aspectui.

¹⁰⁰ The lost letters and their contents are detected in Isidore's answers. Cf. *infra*, p. 206. Near threats are found throughout Letter 5, which is one long sermon. Quocirca cur, quaeso te, mi domine, non tribuas quod rogaris?... An putas donum tibi conlatum pro te solummodo esse datum? Et vestrum est et nostrum; commune est, non privatum.

¹⁰¹ Beginning and end of Letter 3.

¹⁰² Letter 14 (*P.L.*, 80, 661 B): ...apud praestantissimae memoriae

is "his dear son," but the salutation "my dear brother" of Letter 1, in the Risco edition of the Leon manuscript, echoes more faithfully their relations.¹⁰³ Leclercq may well hold that the saintly Isidore sought, as he discloses in Letter 6, to placate the importunities of his friend with gifts of books.¹⁰⁴ But the same Letter shows that Isidore was not docile in all matters.¹⁰⁵

Finally, it is safe to say that Braulio was Isidore's dearest friend. He entrusted the *Etymologies* to him for editing. Redemptus, probably following a command of Isidore, wrote to Braulio on the death of the master. Braulio catalogued the works of Isidore and wrote his eulogy.¹⁰⁶ He took Isidore's place in the councils of church and state. Some forger, following soon after the two, knowing of their friendship and, apparently, of the peculiar ascendancy of the student over the master, went so far as to add a false dedication and epilogue to Isidore's *De ordine creaturarum*, in which Isidore says he is writing the work at the command of Braulio and speaks of himself in extremely humble and submissive terms.¹⁰⁷

This brings to a close a fairly complete picture of the friendship existing between these two great bishops. A comprehensive view of their wider relations, particularly as regards Isidore's influence on Braulio, will be brought out in the subsequent chapters. We turn now to a consideration of those other friends of Braulio who are known to us through his correspondence.

dominum meum Isidorum . . . Letter 44 (*ibid.*, 696 A): . . . incomparabilis scientiae vir Isidorus. . . . For the Eulogy see the *Praenotatio, infra*, p. 216.

¹⁰³ *P.L.*, 80, 649.

¹⁰⁴ Codicem Etymologiarum cum aliis codicibus de itinere transmisi, . . . Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," *D.A.C.L.*, II, 876: Enfin ce dernier cède et envoie à Saragosse les *Etymologies*, mais incomplètes. Il est vrai qu'il ne les termina jamais, mais connaissant son collègue bibliophile, il s'attendait à un orage et, pour le detourner, il ajoutait à l'envoi quelques autres livres.

¹⁰⁵ He did not seem to approve of Braulio's suggestions on filling the bishopric of Tarragona. Cf. *infra*, p. 144.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁷ C. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien*, pp. 123, 124; *P.L.*, 81, 598.

CHAPTER III

OTHER CORRESPONDENCE

WITH THE CLERGY—WITH THE LAITY

BRAULIO's friends are known to us almost solely through his Letters. For a rather small collection of letters, numbering but forty-seven in all, there is a surprisingly wide diversity of personages either writing to him, or receiving letters from him. Twenty-six personages, including members of his family, are involved, the majority of them being in religion. None of the correspondents among the laity seems to be of less than noble blood. It will be noticed in the treatment of these friendships that the historian's greatest difficulty is evaluating properly the sentiment behind the rhetoric. Nearly all of these Letters were written within the period of Braulio's episcopacy (631-651); a few of them before that time. The order followed in this chapter is not chronological, but is based on the types of persons who are involved.

WITH THE CLERGY

Through the medium of his Letters, we are able to discuss the relations of Braulio with the clergy, from those in minor orders to the Roman Pontiff himself. Letter 21 addressed to Pope Honorius I records his only relations with the papacy and, indeed, his only reference to it. The Letter is better studied under the light of political philosophy and will be so studied in this work.¹ It suffices here to say that the successor of Peter is accorded due respect and recognition. He is saluted as “*prae-cipue et excellentissime Antistitum,*” and “*praestantissime praesulum;*” he is referred to as “*Apostolatus vestri apex.*”²

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 145.

² Edition of F. Fita, *Suplementos al Concilio nacional Toledano VI*, pp. 28, 30, 32. A formal treatment of titles of address is better suited to a

His zeal in discharging his duty of watching over all the churches, and keeping them from schism and heresy, is lauded,³ and his right to demand an accounting in Spain is accepted as a matter of course.⁴ Nevertheless, the noticeable tone of aggrieved testiness in the Letter echoes a growing national pride of church and state in Spain.

Isidore, as far as we can tell, was a man of few friendships. Braulio's affections were many. Let us consider his friendship for Eugene, whom he calls "the solace of my life" and "a part of my soul."⁵ This friend is Eugene II, bishop of Toledo from 646 to 657.⁶ Judging by his poem "Lament on the approach of old age," in which he gives his age as forty-nine,⁷ we may surmise that he was born about the turn of the century, for the poem was written after 646⁸ and he died in 657, a man weak in health throughout his life.⁹ His father, Nicholas by name,¹⁰ may perhaps have been a Goth, since Eugene seems to have been

linguistic study of Braulio's writings. Concerning titles see M. O'Brien, *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A.D.*, Washington, 1930.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 100.

⁵ Hujus vitae solamen...pars animae meae... Letter 31, *P.L.*, 80, 678 A, B.

⁶ For the dates cf. *infra*, p. 59. Ildefonse tells us he was bishop nearly twelve years: fere duodecim annis tenens dignitatem. *De viris illustribus*, chap. 14 (*P.L.*, 96, 204).—Some authorities call him Eugene III. We shall follow Ildefonse (*ibid.*) who intimates that he and his predecessor are the only Eugenes: Item Eugenius alter post Eugenium pontifex subrogatur. The pseudo-Eugene I of the first century is now definitely established as legendary. Cf. *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, 2685-2692; B. de Gaiffier, "Les reliques de l'abbaye de San Millán de la Cogolla au xiii^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 97, n. 6.

⁷ F. Vollmer, *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina*, *M.G.H., Auctores antiquissimi*, XIV, *carmen* 14, v. 85, p. 245.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁹ Fuit namque corpore tenuis, parvus robore... Ildefonse, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Vollmer, *ibid.*, *carmina* 27-29.

brought up as a cleric in the royal church at Toledo.¹¹ Fired by a love for monasticism he fled, about the age of twenty, to the famous shrine of the Eighteen Martyrs at Saragossa¹² and the monastery recently founded there, perhaps by Braulio's brother, John.¹³ Since there is no mention of Bishop Maximus (*ob.* 619) in Eugene's poems and great devotion in the same to Braulio's family, we are supposing that his arrival did not antedate 620. For the same reasons we may suspect that, besides the motive Ildefonse gives for his flight to Saragossa, he was attracted by the new bishop, John, the "*pater monachorum*," and his rising young brother, just back from Seville.¹⁴ Perhaps his "*studia sapientiae*" were made under Braulio and the "*propositum monachi*" inculcated by John and Braulio, both authorities on the subject.¹⁵ It may be noticed in passing that his education, like that of Braulio, was a matter of many years. They were happy years as his poems of the period illustrate.¹⁶ The many holy spots of the city were each the subject of his verse. The family of Braulio was close to him and at John's death (631) he wrote a gracious epitaph.¹⁷ Three years later he wrote two epitaphs on the death of Basilla, sister to Braulio.¹⁸

In the meantime Braulio, now bishop, had come to love and trust him. He was made archdeacon of the diocese, and was

¹¹ Ildefonse, *loc. cit.*: *Hic cum Ecclesiae regiae clericus esset egregius, vita monachi delectatus est.*

¹² *Ibid.* *Qui sagaci fuga urbem Caesaraugustanam petens, illic martyrum sepulchris inhaesit, ibique studia sapientiae et propositum monachi decenter incoluit; ...*

¹³ Cf. *supra*, p. 15.

¹⁴ For John's monastic activities see *supra*, p. 15.—J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 306 is incorrect in saying that Braulio was still in Seville. Cf. *supra*, p. 27.

¹⁵ The phrases are Ildefonse's; cf. *supra*, note 12. For Braulio's monastic activities see *infra*, p. 176.

¹⁶ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-277, *carmina* 9-12, 21-24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, *carmen* 21, pp. 248-249.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, *carmina* 22, 23, pp. 249-250.

assigned possibly to the basilica of St. Vincent in the city.¹⁹ A poem in its honor shows his devotion to the church.²⁰ He probably returned to court at Toledo at least once and saw Isidore there.²¹ When Braulio began his *Life of St. Emilian*, which was to be used in the office of the Saint, he asked Eugene, a master in such work according to Ildefonse,²² to write the Mass of the feast. Braulio's own words tell us of the assignment and of his friendship. He is writing to his brother Fronimian.²³

For the same solemnity also, in order that a common Mass might be recited, I called upon my dear son, the deacon Eugene, not believing it to be inconsistent of me if the tongue of him whose judgment I follow in all my plans and thoughts should contribute the office of this saintly man, for I think that I may let him share my reward in these things whose aid I use in other matters.

This passage expresses clearly their relations: elaboration is unnecessary. In connection with their devotion to St. Emilian,

¹⁹ Letter 33, Braulio to Chindaswinth, *P.L.*, 80, 679 C: ... ut restituatis eum (Eugene) patrono vestro sancto Vincentio in eo quo hucusque fuit officio. —Vollmer's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 301) that Eugene is the fugitive monk of Letter 17, "unlawfully made subdeacon and deacon by his uncle Braulio," is only a suspicion, and a bad one. Cf. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 67. For the fugitive monk see *infra*, p. 63. On his supposed kinship with Braulio see *supra*, p. 11.

²⁰ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *carmen* 10, p. 240.

²¹ Cf. Letter 6, ed. Lindsay. It is not surprising that Isidore calls him "deacon" in the Letter; Braulio does too (cf. *infra*, n. 23); perhaps as late as 636 when the *Life of St. Emilian* was written, he may not yet have been appointed archdeacon of the diocese.

²² Ildefonse, *op. cit.*, *P.L.*, 96, 204: Cantus pessimis usibus vitiatos melodiae cognitione correxit, officiorum omissos ordines curamque discrevit.

²³ Letter to Fronimian prefacing the *Life of St. Emilian*; edited by T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 215: De eadem quoque solemnitate ut Missa recitaretur communis, injunxi dilecto filio meo Eugenio Diacono, non putans a me diversum, si ejus lingua, cuius in omnibus consiliis cogitationibusque meis teneo animum, ministret ob hujus beatissimi viri honorem, meum officium: simulque considerans, ut quo in caeteris rebus utor partice, in his etiam mercedis fruar consopte.

however, attention may be called to Eugene's poem in honor of the basilica of the saint.²⁴

In 646 Eugene I of Toledo died and King Chindaswinth decided to appoint Braulio's archdeacon to the royal metropolitan see; "our church" he called it.²⁵ Braulio had come so to depend on Eugene, that he could not think of such a separation. He wrote Letter 31 to the king and, in tearful tone with many a scriptural word, he begged the prince to take pity on his old age and spare him this sorrow.²⁶ The king answered in Letter 32. In courtly manner he praised Braulio's learning and—knowing, perhaps, a weakness in Braulio's armor—praised particularly the eloquence and euphony of Letter 31, but refused his request withal.²⁷ In Letter 33 Braulio consents to send on his archdeacon, repeating, however, his petition.²⁸

Ildefonse says that Eugene was made bishop "by kingly violence",²⁹ but there is very good reason for believing that Eugene and Braulio did not resent the appointment deeply. A few years after the appointment, Eugene, at the command of Chindaswinth, edited the *De laudibus Dei* of Dracontius, and in the preface shows great devotion to Chindaswinth. As for Braulio, shortly after Eugene's appointment—three years later, in fact—he did Chindaswinth a great favor in suggesting publicly, as spokesman for a strong group, that the king associate his son Receswinth with him in the kingship.³⁰ His relations

²⁴ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *carmen* 11, p. 241.

²⁵ Letter 33, *P.L.*, 80, 679: Juxta nostram adhortationem hunc Eugenium archidiaconum nostrae cedas Ecclesiae sacerdotem.

²⁶ *P.L.*, 80, 677.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 678: Suggestionem eloquentiae vestrae verbis florentissimis adornatam, cunctisque euphonii verborum succinctam, quam ad nostram clementiam tua curavit sanctitas transmittendam, suscepimus, in qua per lucubrationem tuorum verborum studio nobis datur intellegi, . . .

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 679.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, *P.L.*, 96, 204: Unde principali violentia reductus, atque in pontificatum ascitus. . . .

³⁰ Letter 37. *P.L.*, 80, 684.

with Chindaswinth and Receswinth on other counts seem to have been most amicable.³¹ If Eugene wrote an opprobrious epitaph for Chindaswinth it is probably safe to say with Vollmer, that this "disloyal" poem was "a document of senile penitence, and not the revenge of a small mind after the death of a great one."³²

The friendship of the two bishops did not end with Eugene's accession to the important see of Toledo. When perplexities arose Eugene turned to his old master. In Letter 35, written probably in 647, since it deals with problems which he inherited from his predecessor, we have Eugene proposing three liturgical cases to Braulio for solution. Braulio, now beyond sixty years of age, answers in Letter 36.³³ A prologue on his health is followed by a detailed answer to the questions. There is no special mark of affection in either letter. Eugene is Braulio's "humble servant" and is called by Braulio the "primate of bishops."³⁴

Tajo, who was to succeed Braulio as bishop of Saragossa, is a shadowy figure. We have said that he was drawn to Saragossa and the *familia* of John and Braulio by their learning.³⁵ We know nothing of his origin, though his name may indicate Gothic blood.³⁶ His cognomen Samuel may indicate a baptismal name taken at the time of conversion from Arianism, or that he was of Jewish blood, the name being common among the Jews at the time.³⁷ He was a friend of Braulio at Letters 11, 42, and

³¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 80-82.

³² Vollmer, *op. cit.*, *carmen 25*, pp. 250-251, 301.

³³ The two Letters are edited by Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-286. The liturgical aspects of the Letters will be treated below, pp. 88-94.

³⁴ Servulus vester. Primatus episcoporum. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 283, 284.

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 21.

³⁶ One authority says he was an Hispano-roman. Cf. J. Tailhan, "Les Espagnols et les Wisigoths avant l'invasion arabe," *Revue des questions historiques*, 30 (1881), 24.

³⁷ S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*, pp. 34, 146, 163

the *Fragmentum epistolae* show.³⁸ He not only succeeded Braulio but he may have been his literary executor, gathering and arranging his Letters, if the compilation of the Leon MS 22, the *Samuel liber*, can be ascribed to him in any way.³⁹

Letter 11, the first indication of their mutual relations, smacks of the irresponsibility of school-days. It was written before Braulio became bishop, as the dedication indicates, and, we would add, its position in the corpus. Whether it reflects the mild disputes of two equals, fellow-teachers, perhaps, or the relations of an indulgent preceptor with his favorite pupil, is hard to say from the context. From other considerations the latter must be the case.⁴⁰ In the Letter Braulio is classical of tone and not ecclesiastical, familiar and not formal. The abrupt dedication, devoid of the customary polite flourishes, foreshadows the brush in the body of the Letter: *Domino meo Tajo presbytero Braulio*. It may likewise indicate impatience in Braulio, or familiarity. Tajo is a priest only and not the priest and abbot of Letter 42, further proof that he was still studying.

The body of Letter 11 is very illuminating. Braulio in a lost letter had criticized facetiously Tajo's pride. Tajo did not think it funny and wrote him in return criticizing Braulio's pride. Braulio in Letter 11, with references to Aesop, Horace, Virgil, Appius through Quintilian, and the Scriptures, reproves him for his sensitiveness and lack of humor, refuses to be offended after boasting a bit, begs his pardon, and ends in kindness.⁴¹

Farewell, dear friend, worthy to be loved in charity, and forgive me, because while I presume on your love I write too much.

³⁸ Letter 11: *P.L.*, 80, 657. Letter 42: *ibid.*, 687. *Fragmentum epistolae*: *ibid.*, 686.

³⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 206.

⁴⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 62.

⁴¹ *P.L.*, 80, 658: Vale, dilectissime, et mihi a charitate diligende, et da veniam quia dum de amore tuo praesumo, etiam superflue tibi scribo. The letter is treated at length *infra*, pp. 161-163, 184.

The years passed. Friendship with Braulio continued. Tajo must have stayed on in Saragossa, for he was not only an intimate friend of Fronimian, Braulio's brother, before the latter went off to his monastery,⁴² but became also a fast friend of the archdeacon Eugene.⁴³ It would seem to have been about the time Eugene went to Toledo (646), that Tajo set out on a mission to Rome at the request of King Chindaswinth.⁴⁴ Perhaps he was already the abbot which we find him to be shortly after his return, when he addressed the letter of which the *Fragmentum epistolae* to Braulio is the remains. This fragment is answered by Braulio in Letter 42, fortunately, for the reply supplies the substance of the parts missing in the fragment.⁴⁵ Tajo is disturbed by a theological problem on the resurrection of the body due to the tradition, which he had heard for the first time, perhaps, in Rome, that Blood of the Saviour, shed on the Cross, was not reassumed by His risen Body.⁴⁶ He turns to his old teacher, as did Eugene. Braulio is to him now "*virorum sanctissime.*" Towards the end he writes, "With what humility I can, I presume to salute the sanctity of my lord, begging that I may be worthy of remembrance in your prayers."⁴⁷ Quite different from the earlier Letter 11 is

⁴² Braulio, writing to Tajo in Letter 42, calls his brother "*tuus amator.*" *P.L.*, 80, 690 B.

⁴³ See his Letter to Eugene prefacing his *Sententiae*. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-290.

⁴⁴ *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana*, ed. T. Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XI, 342-343: Hic (Chindaswinth) Taionem . . . Rome ad suam petitionem . . . porrigit destinatum. Garcia Villada and L. Serrano believe, with what seems to be insufficient reason, that the chronicle on this point is reporting a legend. Cf. *infra*, p. 157.—R. Beer (*Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, p. 9) writes that Tajo went to Rome in 649. The voyage could have been made as late as this, but not later. Cf. *infra*, p. 155.

⁴⁵ *Fragmentum epistolae*, *P.L.*, 80, 686; Letter 42, *ibid.*, 687-690.

⁴⁶ The theological problem will receive attention *infra*, p. 96.—The important problem of what books Tajo brought back with him from Rome, will be discussed, *infra*, p. 156.

⁴⁷ *Humilitate qua valeo sanctitatem Domini mei salutare praesumo, obsecrans ut orationibus vestris merear commendari, . . .*

Braulio's answer this time. Tajo is now an abbot as well as a priest, "a venerable and most reverend brother in the members of Christ."⁴⁸ In the body of the Letter he is "*charissime*" and the lengthy Letter ends with "Farewell in the Lord, beloved brother, worthy to be embraced venerably in the members of Christ."⁴⁹

Such are the facts concerning their relations. Add to them that Tajo succeeded Braulio in the see of Saragossa and that previously he was an abbot, presumably of a monastery in or near Saragossa,⁵⁰ though against this is the fact that Braulio sent out a Letter to him. He was not in the same monastery as Fronimian, as Letter 42 clearly indicates,⁵¹ which fact would aid Lambert in his thesis that Fronimian was in the distant monastery of San Millán.⁵² Tajo may have been the abbot of the monastery of the Eighteen Martyrs in Saragossa.

If at times there are passages in the Letters which will lead us to conclude that Braulio was inclined to presume on his power and position, in Letter 17, addressed to Bishop Wiligildus, we find excellent proof that Braulio could be sincerely humble.⁵³ The circumstances that gave occasion for the Letter supplied an excellent opportunity for a display of arrogance. Wiligildus was Braulio's equal in dignity, and a foreigner. He had written to Braulio, in a letter now lost, complaining that the laws of the Church had been broken by Braulio's actions in offering asylum to a fugitive monk from his diocese and ordaining him

⁴⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 687 A: *Venerabili et in membris Christi (1 Cor. VI, 15) reverendissimo in Christo fratri Tajo presbytero et abbati,...*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, B and 690 C: *Vale in Domino, frater charissime, et in Christi membris venerabiliter amplectende.*

⁵⁰ Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, I, 548.

⁵¹ Braulio, writing to Tajo in Letter 42 says: *Nam non solus ego hujuscemodi rei sum petitor, sed et dominus, germanusque meus, tuus amator.* *P.L.*, 80, 690 B.

⁵² Cf. *supra*, p. 16.

⁵³ *P.L.*, 80, 663-664. On Braulio's virtues and faults see *infra*, p. 182.

subdeacon and deacon.⁵⁴ The return of the monk was demanded. Braulio's reaction was exemplary. His answer, Letter 17, is a model of politeness and contrition.⁵⁵

To my blessed lord, Bishop Wiligildus, worthy of veneration in the members of Christ and worthy of being embraced with all love in Christ the Lord, Braulio, the useless servant of the saints of God.

Immediately he confesses his fault and adds, "I studiously place this (confession) at the very beginning of my letter that, by admitting my error, I may the more readily receive indulgent forgiveness."⁵⁶ He humbly offers his excuses and begs that the orders he has conferred on the monk be accepted. The fugitive is to be returned. Braulio entitles himself "*pusillitas mea*" and "*parvitas mea*," begs the prayers of the bishop, and ends:⁵⁷

Offering you my greetings, I, your Beatitude's most humble and devoted servant, trust that, when the occasion presents itself I may deserve to be honored by a letter from you. To Ayulfus, priest and abbot, I would say the same.

The monk's name we do not know. For many reasons it could not be Eugene II of Toledo as Vollmer suspected.⁵⁸ His abbot seems to have been the Ayulfus mentioned at the end of the Letter. To judge by the name, Ayulfus was a Goth. No more is known of this abbot, unless we identify him with the

⁵⁴ The canonical aspects of the Letter will be treated *infra*, p. 97.

⁵⁵ Domno beatissimo, et Christi membris venerando, atque omni dilectione amplectendo domino in Christo meo Wiligildo episcopo, Braulio servus inutilis sanctorum Dei.—Braulio's designation of himself is the customary one employed by him in addressing his letters.

⁵⁶ Unde in prima fronte hujus epistolae hoc studui ponere, ut fasso errore compendiosius perciperem indulgentiam veniae.

⁵⁷ Salutem autem religiosa humilitate et devotissima servitute vestrae beatitudini persolvens quaeso, ut, nactis occasionibus, vestris merear illustrari apicibus. Haec et Ayulfo presbytero et abbati.

⁵⁸ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 301. Cf. also Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 67, and *supra*, p. 58.

Aquitanian bishop or abbot Aviulfus, as Lambert suggests.⁵⁹ This individual, living probably on the frontier of Septimania, undertook to return a fugitive priest, Dructulfus, who had been delivered into his hands out of Spain, to St. Didier, Bishop of Cahors (630-655).⁶⁰ Ayulfus' bishop was Wiligildus, as Letter 17 indicates, and his diocese was at a great distance from Saragossa, for Braulio gives this as a reason for presuming to receive and ordain the fugitive monk.⁶¹ Like the abbot Ayulfus, the bishop has a Gothic name, but, since he is not mentioned in the councils of the time,⁶² we know no more about him, unless, again as Lambert suggests, we seek identification with Wilsigisilus, who was Bishop of Toulouse in 627.⁶³

Letter 22 is a baffling document in so far as the person addressed by Braulio is concerned.⁶⁴ The Letter is described, apparently in the Leon MS 22, as "from Braulio to Bishop Eutropius."⁶⁵ The salutation, however, is simply, "*Domino meo episcopo, Braulio,*" and nowhere in the Letter is the name Eutropius mentioned. Who supplied the name? It may have been Braulio, if he were the first to bring these Letters together in a body. More likely it was some literary executor familiar with his affairs, such as Tajo.⁶⁶ The brevity of the salutation causes one to suspect that it is not the original one. Missing are the polite phrases which Braulio always uses in addressing a letter, even when the recipient does not enjoy the dignity of the episcopacy. Missing, too, in his customary description of himself as "*servus inutilis sanctorum Dei.*" The only other

⁵⁹ *D.H.G.E.*, s. v. "Aviulfus" and "Ayulfus."

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, s. v. "Aviulfus."

⁶¹ Tam longinquus terrarum me situs immunem reddit, . . . *P.L.*, 80, 664 A.

⁶² Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, II, ii, 148.

⁶³ Lambert, *op. cit.*, s. v. "Aviulfus."

⁶⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 670-671.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 670: Ejusdem Braulionis ad Eutropium episcopum.

⁶⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 206.

Letter to be shorn of such convention was his familiar Letter 11 to Tajo.⁶⁷ Even there, however, the recipient's name was given. The body of the Letter offers some proof that a bishop is being addressed. Two titles are used, "*beatitudo vestra*"⁶⁸ and "*sanctitas vestra*"⁶⁹ which are usually reserved in the correspondence for bishops. But Braulio also used the former in addressing an abbot,⁷⁰ and the latter in addressing a priest.⁷¹ The tone of the Letter is politely humble, as would befit a letter to a bishop. Braulio is being consulted on the fixing of the Easter date—a likely subject for a bishop to inquire about—and he displays his knowledge becomingly. We feel that this Bishop Eutropius is not very well known to him. At the end of the Letter he wishes him well "with reverence and love," and asks for his prayers.⁷²

Before attempting to identify this Eutropius otherwise, let us first assign a date to the Letter. Fortunately the Letter can be dated 640. The point of the Letter is introduced thus:⁷³

Concerning the feast of Easter, about which you have undertaken to enquire from our Humility, may it please your Sanctity to know that this is correct: Easter will be celebrated that year on the sixth day before the Ides of April, the twenty-first day of the moon.

Later in the epistle we have two other references to the date.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 61.

⁶⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 670 D; cf. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* and 671 A; cf. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁷⁰ Letter 42. *P.L.*, 80, 690 B.

⁷¹ Letter 9. *Ibid.*, 655 C.

⁷² Quod reliquum est, salutem cum reverentia et amore dependo, et me orationibus tuis salvandum committo.

⁷³ *P.L.*, 80, 670 D: De festo autem Paschali, quod inquirere ab humilitate nostra jussisti, noverit sanctitas vestra hoc esse rectum ut sexto Idus Apriles, luna vicesima prima, Pascha anno isto celebretur.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 671 A and B: Nam in Kalendis Aprilis hoc anno non Christianorum, sed Pascha occurrit Judaeorum, . . . Quocirca in sequenti Dominica celebrandum est a nobis Pascha, quod erit, ut praemisi, sextus Idus Apriles,

...

For on the Kalends of April of this year, the Pasch of the Jews, and not that of the Christians, occurs. . . . Consequently, on the following Sunday we should celebrate Easter, which will be, as I said, on the sixth day before the Ides of April. . . .

Easter fell on the sixth day before the Ides of April (April 8) in the years 619, 630, and 641. But only in 641 did this date coincide with the twenty-first day of the moon.⁷⁵ Furthermore the circumstances of the Letter as well as its position in the corpus indicate that Braulio was already a bishop, which he was not in 619 or 630.⁷⁶ The date is discussed as future time; therefore the Letter was written before April 8, 641. The phrases “*anno isto*” and “*hoc anno*” probably indicate that they are writing in the year 640. Letter 21, immediately preceding, was written in 638.⁷⁷ The date of 640 for Letter 22 is, therefore, fitting.

The episcopal registers and the councils of this period unfortunately do not supply us with a bishop Eutropius. To identify him with Bishop Eutropius of Valencia (*c.* 596) is out of the question.⁷⁸ This Eutropius had a successor by 610.⁷⁹ There is only one Eutropius with whom he may be identified and trace of him oddly enough is found only in Braulio’s Letter 37.⁸⁰ In the year 646 Braulio, writing in his own name and as representative for a Bishop Eutropius and a Count Celsus, addressed this Letter to King Chindaswinth urging him to make his son co-ruler.⁸¹ The circumstances suggest that Eutropius was

⁷⁵ A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, I, 187.

⁷⁶ Braulio in the Letter gives as his last authority on the question of the Easter-date, “*sed et nostri temporis vir insignis Hispalensis Isidorus*” (*P.L.*, 80, 670), which reminds us that Eutropius would probably have written to Isidore had he been still alive (*ob.* 636).

⁷⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 131.

⁷⁸ The identification is made by R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, 2 ed., XI, 730.

⁷⁹ P. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, p. 87.

⁸⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 684.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*: *Suggerendum gloriosissimo domino nostro Chindaswintho regi, Braulio et Eutropius episcopi servuli vestri, cum presbyteris, diaconibus et*

bishop of a diocese contiguous to Saragossa and that Celsus was the governor of one or both districts. If Letter 22 may be considered to indicate inexperience on the part of a newly appointed bishop in the matter of the intricate Easter-date, and Braulio's reserve in the same Letter is a sign that Eutropius was a newcomer, then we are not surprised to find his name missing from the acts of the Sixth Council of Toledo (638). One would like to find his name attached to the Seventh Council (646), but should not be surprised at its absence. Attendance at this council was comparatively very poor.⁸²

This Eutropius, we have said, was not bishop of Valencia. In the year 638, a deacon Severinus, signed the acts of the Sixth Council of Toledo for Bishop Nusitatius of Valencia.⁸³ Nusitatius must have died before 646, since a Bishop Annianus of Valencia signed the acts of the Seventh Council in that year.⁸⁴ Sometime between 640, the date of Letter 22, and 646, the date of Letter 31, Braulio wrote Letters 23 and 24 to the Bishop of Valencia.⁸⁵ We can not be positive that the bishop was Nusitatius, Annianus, or a third bishop who might have held the see for a short time between those two; but a strong hypothesis can be built up for Bishop Annianus. Braulio addressed Letter 23 “*Domino Unianimo Valentino episcopo.*” He addressed Letter 24 “*Domino meo Valentino episcopo.*” Since there is no record of a Bishop Unianimus of Valencia, Riso decided that the word was an adjective,⁸⁶ and the salutation was to read: “To my Lord, one with me in spirit, the Bishop of Valencia.” This was a sensible conjecture, for Braulio's favorite dogma may be said

omnibus a Deo sibi creditis, nec non et Celsus servus vester cum territoriis
a clementia vestra sibi commissis.

⁸² Forty-eight bishops attended the Sixth Council, twenty-eight the Seventh, and fifty-two the Eighth. Cf. Mansi, X, 670, 770, 1221.

⁸³ Mansi, X, 672.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 771.

⁸⁵ P.L., 80, 672, 673.

⁸⁶ *España sagrada*, 30, 177.

to be the communion of saints in the Mystical Body of Christ,⁸⁷ a dogma well expressed in that one adjective. Furthermore, the two Letters are devoted almost entirely to that doctrine, and even Braulio's favorite conceit of playing on words⁸⁸ is brought to bear on the idea expressed by that adjective. "Cum sis autem," he says in Letter 23,⁸⁹ "altera anima mea, imo sit in Christo una anima tua et mea, . . ." "Et quanquam," he says in Letter 24,⁹⁰ "non dirimit absentia corporis quos nectit unanimitas in Domino parilis, . . ." The name "Annianus" may have suggested the word "Unianimus" to Braulio.

The two are charming letters from one close friend to another. Unlike most of Braulio's Letters, no occasion seems to have prompted them. There is no subject other than friendship and the thoughts that flow therefrom. Letter 23 is, perhaps, Braulio's most beautiful Letter. He is not talking up to an Isidore or an Honorius, or down to the young Tajo. There is no complaint or criticism. It is simpler than is his wont and sincere. No favors are asked or given save those of prayers. Letter 23 bewails strongly the condition of the world, but the complaints form a prelude to his description of the joys of Christian resignation.

Among the abbots with whom Braulio corresponded, there is first his brother Fronimian.⁹¹ Letters 13 and 14 are addressed to Frunimianus, priest and abbot.⁹² The prefatory Letter to the *Life of St. Emilian* is addressed "to my brother Fronimianus, priest."⁹³ Lambert considers the same person to be

⁸⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 102.

⁸⁸ Cf. *infra*, p. 160.

⁸⁹ *P.L.*, 80, 672 D.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 673 B.

⁹¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 10.

⁹² Letter 13, *P.L.*, 80, 659: Domino meo Frunimiano presbytero et abbatii, Braulio servus inutilis sanctorum Dei. Letter 14, *ibid.*, 661: Domino meo Frunimiano presbytero et abbatii, Braulio.

⁹³ T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 213: Dei viro, dominoque meo et germano Fronimiano, Presbytero, Braulio, immeritus Episcopus salutem.

addressed in all three Letters, Braulio's brother Fronimian.⁹⁴ We can not accept the identification as he does, without hesitancy or argument. No importance can be attached to the fact that the name is spelled with a *u* in one case and with an *o* in the other. In the salutations of Letters 13 and 14, Fronimian is called "priest and abbot." In the prefatory Letter, Fronimian is called simply "priest." Letters 13 and 14, both very long, indicate in no wise that Braulio is writing to a brother. The Fronimian of the prefatory Letter is obviously his brother.⁹⁵ The Fronimian of Letter 13 would seem to be a man somewhat advanced in years. This Letter, we shall see, was probably written about 632; Braulio's brother we would not expect to find a very old man in that year. In both Letters there is no sign that Braulio knew Fronimian other than by letter.

Against these gleanings we may array the following. Although the title "abbot" is missing from the salutation of the prefatory Letter, the Letter itself would seem to indicate that Fronimian was an abbot. Lambert seems to find sufficient proof in the fact that Braulio wrote the *Vita* at the command of both brothers, John and Fronimian.⁹⁶ Added proof can be found in the fact that Braulio dedicated the *Life* of this famous monk to Fronimian. Much stronger proof of Lambert's whole thesis, that Fronimian was abbot of the original monastery of San Millán,⁹⁷ third in line, after Emilian and Cythonatus, may be found in a passage of the same prefatory Letter. Braulio, in

⁹⁴ A. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 72. Ceillier (*op. cit.*, XI, 728) and N. Antonio (*P.L.*, 80, 642, note f) believe two distinct personages are involved.

⁹⁵ Cf. *supra*, note 93, and p. 10.

⁹⁶ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 78. Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Tam ejus jussis, quam tuis obediens praecepitis, . . . vitam . . . stylo praestringere.—Pérez de Urbel (*Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 177) is content with calling him a monk of the Monastery of San Millán de Suso and says that it is proved by this prefatory Letter.

⁹⁷ San Millán de Suso. Cf. *infra*, p. 235.

listing the sources of the *Vita*, names the "venerable abbot Cythonatus," who had previously submitted information to him.⁹⁸ Then Braulio adds, as if Fronimian were the successor to Cythonatus, "Of course, those miracles, divinely wrought, in the same place, which I learned from you last year, I have added at the end of this book, as I received them from you."⁹⁹ He also asks Fronimian to correct any error.¹⁰⁰ Whether the list of abbots of the monastery as found in the Emilian Codex of the Academia de la Historia contains Fronimian's name, matters little, since Gómez Moreno and the Bollandist De Gaiffier, against García Villada, believe the list to be apocryphal.¹⁰¹ One further indication that the absence of Fronimian's title of "abbot" in the salutation is of little import, can be deduced from the fact that in the Letter Braulio calls Cythonatus, in one place "venerable abbot," and in another "priest."¹⁰²

A glance at the use of titles in the three Letters may support an identification of the two names. The absence of the customary flourishes in the salutations of Letters 13 and 14 may indicate the informality of brother writing to brother. Their presence in the salutation of the prefatory Letter would be explained by Braulio's desire to make the Letter an integral part of the *Life*.¹⁰³ The three letters are remarkable in that there

⁹⁸ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Sub testificatione Cythonati Abbatis venerabilis, . . . vitam . . . stylo praestringere. *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 215; quia Cythonatus Presbyter, atque Gerontius, adhuc in corpore degunt, omnia quae in ea scripsi, . . . habeantur confirmata.

⁹⁹ Sane illa quae anno praeterito a vobis ibidem divinitus operata didici, in finem libelli istius, ut a vobis accepi, adjeci.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 214: Judicioque tuo probandum commitens, ut ad singulare cognitum, si in aliquo displicerit, aut emendes, aut reprobes.

¹⁰¹ MS 22 (formerly F186). M. Gómez Moreno, *Las iglesias mozárabes*, I, 291; B. de Gaiffier, "Bulletin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1933), 414; Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, i, 316.

¹⁰² Cf. *supra*, note 98.

¹⁰³ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 214: Et hanc ipsam epistolam meam capitи ejus praeponere curavi, . . .

is only one example of the favorite rhetorical title and that one example is equivocal. In the body of the prefatory Letter a “*B. V.*” of the Mabillon text is read “*beatitudinem vestram*” by Minguella.¹⁰⁴ The only other title used, and it is found in the three Letters, is the unpretentious “*domine.*” This may mark the familiarity of brothers rather than the formality of friends.

Worthy of notice, also, is the passage in Letter 14, where Braulio informs Fronimian that he cannot spare the writing parchment for which he asks, and so is sending him money with which to buy some;¹⁰⁵ this bespeaks the brother rather than the friend. As for the discouraged attitude of Fronimian, which Braulio fights in Letter 13, this may be explained after the manner of Lambert¹⁰⁶ by the hypothesis that Fronimian went west to the Monastery of San Millán as a reformer or restorer, bringing the *Rule of John of Biclar* with him.

The three Letters may be dated as follows. Letter 13 was written about 632. Braulio was already a bishop, hence it was written after 631, and Letter 15 to Basilla was written about 633.¹⁰⁷ There is a good reason for believing that Letter 14 was written after 636, the year in which Isidore died. The phrase “*apud praestantissimae memoriae dominum meum Isidorum,*”¹⁰⁸ refers to a person now dead. The chronological order of the Letters seems not to hold in this case. Letter 14, which is in no wise connected with Letter 13, as far as subject-matter is concerned, may occupy its place in the corpus simply because it is addressed to the same person. The prefatory Letter is to be given the same date as the *Vita*, that is to say 636.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Mabillon *apud P.L.*, 80, 702 B; Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

¹⁰⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 661 A: *Membrana nec nobis sufficiunt, et ideo ad dirigendum vobis deficiunt, sed pretium direximus unde, si jusseritis, comparare possitis.*

¹⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 661 B.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 227.

Letters 25-27 are of great interest in studying the character of Braulio.¹¹⁰ They do more than just record his relations with another "priest and abbot," Emilian. They could supply a wagging finger with the accusation that herein Braulio is trying to ingratiate himself with a personage high in the confidence of the newly-elected King Chindaswindh (641-652). Emilian is an interesting figure, known only through these three Letters. Gracia Villada made the natural mistake of identifying him with St. Emilian, also an abbot, only to correct it after realizing the chronological barrier.¹¹¹ Tailhan guessed that he was from Tarragona; Leclercq and Séjourné copied him.¹¹² J. de Ghellinck in 1933 asked if Emilian were a resident of Tarragona or Toledo.¹¹³ In 1933 Pérez de Urbel rightly assumed that he was living in Toledo, having been called there probably by the king to act as a counselor.¹¹⁴ The following reasons are, presumably, the basis for Pérez de Urbel's assumption.

Braulio is asking Emilian to secure for him a copy of the commentary on the *Apocalypse* by Aprigius. This should be an easy matter for Emilian "because of your wide power and the fame of your city."¹¹⁵ In the same Letter 25 Braulio commends himself, through Emilian, to "glorioso domino

¹¹⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 673-675.

¹¹¹ Z. García Villada, "La cultura literaria del clero visigodo," *Estudios eclesiásticos*, III (1924), 262; *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, 1, 316. Leclercq (*L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 9) makes the same mistake.

¹¹² J. Tailhan, "Appendice sur les bibliothèques espagnoles du haut Moyen Age," in C. Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature sur le moyen age*, series III, vol. IV, 236; Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," *D.A.C.L.*, II, 876; Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 41.

¹¹³ J. de Ghellinck, "Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques," *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), 376.

¹¹⁴ *Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 346; "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 446.

¹¹⁵ Letter 25. *P.L.*, 80, 674 C: ...facile enim vobis erit propter amplissimam potestatem vestram, et celebritatem urbis...

*nostro.*¹¹⁶ In Letter 26 Emilian informs Braulio that he is unable to procure the codex; that as a last resort he even requested this third party, “*filio vestro domino nostro*,” to have it sought in his library.¹¹⁷ The third party was King Chindaswinth. These formalized references are reserved exclusively for the king, as the other Letters amply prove.¹¹⁸

Nothing more is known of Emilian. Perhaps his monastery was that of Agalia near Toledo, although his name as abbot is appended to none of the Toledan councils. Braulio’s praise of him as a powerful, prayerful monk of affairs must be discounted somewhat by the circumstances surrounding the Letters 25 and 27. He is writing to him, and is in quest of favors. The praise of Letter 25 is followed by a plea for a rare book and ends in more praise, this time for Emilian’s literary gifts.¹¹⁹ The abbot answers in Letter 26 with respectful restraint. Letter 27 is disassociated in matter from the foregoing two Letters, and was probably written some time later. It seems Emilian visited in Saragossa without the knowledge of Braulio. In Letter 27 Braulio apologizes for failing to entertain him. Only the possibility that Emilian was acting in an official capacity for the king could explain the apologetic tone. This possibility is heightened when we find Braulio in the peroration placing himself under this abbot’s protection.¹²⁰

If a close scrutiny of Braulio’s relations with his fellow men discloses the average man in him, the scholar and saint are

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, B: Unde praesentem servulum vestrum benigitati vestrae commendo, ut et per vos glorioso domino nostro praesentetur . . .

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 675 A: . . . et quando alibi invenire non valui, filio vestro domino nostro suggesti, et ipse inter libros suos inquirere jussit . . .

¹¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 654 B, 668 A, 677 D, 679, 684 B.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 674 C: De caetero famulatus mei obsequia omni dependo devotione vobis offerenda, et eruditissimo sermonis vestri stylo perenniter directo illustrari vehementer desidero.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 675 C: De caetero commendans me, mihique delicata, quaeso, ut sis nobis propitius, et digneris non solum orationibus tuis, sed etiam tuere nos culmine tuae protectionis.

likewise revealed. For the admirer of Braulio, the last two Letters in his collection are leaves of glory. Written shortly before his death (651), Letters 43 and 44 are the correspondence of saints.¹²¹ Letter 43 was written by Fructuosus, one of the few lights of the century, a scholar, a noble, a monk, and a saint. Yet to be named metropolitan of Braga, he was at this time earning the fame which considers him to have been a patriarch of monasticism in Spain, for Galicia and the West were being dotted with his foundations. He is young enough to be a son to Braulio,¹²² but his work has already become known to the latter. To Braulio's credit the record shows that this able young man, far off in the West, has come to know of the older man's "felicity of actions" and "constant august doctrine," to such an extent that he "keeps vigil for a night" in order that he and his "*concaptivi*" and "*compauperes*" may be made worthy to receive an answer to his letter.¹²³ Fructuosus was distantly related to Braulio, it is true.¹²⁴ Perhaps they had met.¹²⁵ But relationship and acquaintanceship can not deny the inherent tribute in Letter 43. In an age of formalized flattery this Letter rings true, praising the sanctity and scholarship of Spain's leading ecclesiastic and proving him to be considered such throughout the peninsula.

The Letter is long. Much of it is a eulogy. Three biblical questions are propounded for solution.¹²⁶ A request for mon-

¹²¹ *P.L.*, 80, 690-700. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 94, inadvertently places these Letters in the year 556.

¹²² Cf. Letter 44, *Braulionis ad Fructuosum*, *P.L.*, 80, 700: Vale in Domino, mihi in charitate germane, merito domine, fili aetate, collega dignitate, atque parens affinitate . . .

¹²³ *P.L.*, 80, 690 D, 691 A, C, 692 A. The eulogy of Braulio is treated *infra*, p. 188.

¹²⁴ Cf. *supra*, note 122, and p. 11.

¹²⁵ Pérez de Urbel, *op. cit.*, p. 399, has no grounds for his assertion that they met at the Seventh Council of Toledo (646); Braulio is not recorded as present.

¹²⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 123.

astic rules, lives of saints, and exegetical works, precedes a final plea for prayers from Braulio, “*papa beate*” to these monks of the West.¹²⁷

In the longest of his extant letters, Braulio answers. The last, perhaps, of his many letters, he made it unwittingly an excellent proof of his sanctity and scholarship. His sincerity is that of age, not the least bit fulsome. Fructuosus’ eulogy he attributes to ignorance.¹²⁸ “I beg you to pray,” he says, “that God may make me what you think I am.”¹²⁹ Then he in turn praises Fructuosus, whom history would call a praiseworthy man. He follows with advice for the monks and with a warning against heresy. The exegetical problems are then treated at length. The books requested are promised, “if God wills it, and life spares me.”¹³⁰ Consolation for these recluses occupies the last few paragraphs. Throughout the Letter the complaints of the body—so dear to him in other letters—are missing while the riches of his mind display a profound knowledge of the holy Fathers. Nor are the innumerable biblical quotations unadulterated with classical references;¹³¹ and all this for “*in Christi membris suavissimo filio, Fructuoso.* . . .”¹³²

Letters 9 and 10 record the relations of Braulio with a priest Jactatus, otherwise unknown.¹³³ Both are written by Braulio and indicate that Jactatus has been writing to him; his letters have not come down to us. Jactatus was probably in some western diocese, for Braulio in Letter 9 invites him to visit

¹²⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 692 A.

¹²⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 692 B: Sed plerumque fit ut fallatur aestimatio humana, et malus bonus, et bonus aestimetur malus.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, D: ...sed quaeso ut ores ut qualem me aestimas, efficiat me Deus talem.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 698 A: Sed si Deus voluerit, et vita comes fuerit, est spes eos et inveniendi, et vobis mittendi.

¹³¹ Horace is quoted. *P.L.*, 80, 699 A. In 693 C “*O decus Hispaniae sacrum*” seems to be classical. Cf. *infra*, p. 162.

¹³² *P. L.*, 80, 692 A.

¹³³ *P.L.*, 80, 655-657.

Saragossa when he makes his impending trip to Tarazona, an episcopal see sixty miles west of Saragossa.¹³⁴ In Letter 10 Braulio chides him for neglecting to proceed to Saragossa after reaching Tarazona.¹³⁵ The chiding does not grate, for, as in Letter 11 to Tajo, the tone is that of a former teacher or fellow student. Jactatus is called "Brother" in both Letters, a sign, we may take it, of equality.¹³⁶ Letter 9, however, reveals Braulio's superiority in knowledge. He is answering a request of Jactatus about the study of the Scriptures. Jactatus also asks for relics of the Apostles, which might indicate that Braulio was now a bishop.¹³⁷ Other indications are against this. He calls this priest a "brother;" Braulio's episcopal title "*servus inutilis sanctorum Dei*" is missing; and the position of the Letters in the corpus does not warrant a date of 631 or after. We therefore believe these two Letters to have been written probably about 630. Letter 10 ends with a touching display of friendship. The symbolic bread which Jactatus has sent as a sign of Christian friendship is repaid with wine by Braulio.¹³⁸

Letter 12 is from Braulio to Floridius, archdeacon of a diocese which, it seems, cannot be identified. It was written just after Braulio became bishop (631), and he now uses his favorite episcopal title, "*servus inutilis sanctorum Dei*."¹³⁹ He addresses Floridius as "*dilecte fili*," an indication of the paternal attitude

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 655 C: ...sed ut puto facile hoc foret, si sanctitas tua, quando Tirassona succedit, ad nos venire delectaretur.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 656 C: Quorsum ista locutus? Videlicet quia venisti Tiranoram; et pene saepe moraris, et nos videre contemnis. Agnosce culpam,

...

¹³⁶ *P.L.*, 80, 655 A, 656 A.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 655 C: De reliquiis vero reverendorum apostolorum, quas a nobis flagitastis vobis debere mitti,...

¹³⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 656 D: Direxisti nobis quod in sacramento offertur corporis Christi; remisimus vobis quod in ejusdem Domini mysterio sanguinem praefigurat, vini metra videlicet duo. Cf. *infra*, p. 124.

¹³⁹ *P.L.*, 80, 658 C.—Letter 11 was written before he became bishop, and Letter 13 in the year 632. For a further discussion of the date see *infra*, p. 207.

he must now take towards many correspondents.¹⁴⁰ This one does not seem to have been very close to Braulio, although he may have been a former student; he is requesting instruction, and Braulio hopes to see him soon.¹⁴¹

Floridius, in a letter now lost, has asked Braulio for an exposition on the subject of "numbers."¹⁴² He confesses that the subject of numbers is a prolix one, too prolix for a letter, and that he will treat it when they meet "*os ad os*".¹⁴³ It is a secular subject, and with new found gravity, he follows in the tradition of Isidore, Gregory, and Jerome, by admonishing his correspondent: "Life is short; I should rather devote my efforts to charity, which edifies, than to science, which it is difficult to keep from puffing up or giving rise to envy."¹⁴⁴

WITH THE LAITY

Braulio's relations with the laity, as they have come down to us, are reserved almost exclusively to the nobility. The reason is apparent; the nobility were the only lay people able to write a letter or read one. Of the correspondence with the laity, eight of the Letters are to or from kings of Spain, and the rest, nine in number, are to noble men and women; all of these latter save one are consolatory, even those to his relatives.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 658 C.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 659 A: *Porro si me Deus fecerit te videre, melius os ad os quae petis tradam, quam absens scribam.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*: *Denique nisi quispiam prius numeros illos in Graecitate scierit, facile hoc intelligere non poterit duntaxat, cum aliter sint in Graeco, atque aliter in Latino ...*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*: *... prolixitas tanti operis pene libri magnitudinem, non epistolam flagitet, ut et clarius dici possit, et nihil debeat praetermitti: sed, ut dixi, praesens praesenti, facilius tradi potest; ...* For "*os ad os*" see *supra*, n. 141. The same expression is used in Letter 9 (*P.L.*, 80, 655 C.).

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, B: *Siquidem mallem pro angustia temporis, secundum Apostolum qui ait: Quoniam tempus breve est (I Cor. VII, 29); charitati potius operam dare, quae aedificat, quam scientiae, quae difficile est ut non aut infllet, aut non pateat invidiae. (I Cor. VIII, 1.)*

¹⁴⁵ The matter and style of his consolatory Letters are treated *infra*, p. 175.

Braulio's relations with kings are best studied in the light of his political philosophy.¹⁴⁶ Here we shall devote a few lines to the external forms only.

While still archdeacon Braulio wrote to King Swinthila asking for the acts of a council held in Seville about 624.¹⁴⁷ He apparently did not receive them, for he asks Isidore in Letter 5 (625) to intercede for him.¹⁴⁸ As we have seen, Braulio even after he became bishop approached King Sisenand (631-636) only through St. Isidore. Such was his action when he desired to influence the king on the appointment of a metropolitan to Tarragona.¹⁴⁹ With the deaths of Isidore and Sisenand in 636 his relations became more direct with King Chintila (636-639). Of the fifty-two fathers of the Spanish Church gathered at the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) Braulio was chosen to answer Pope Honorius' letter, which had criticized the Church in Spain. He wrote directly in the name of the bishops¹⁵⁰ and indirectly in the name of the king, defending both¹⁵¹ and asking the pope's prayers for both.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 141.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 44, and *infra*, p. 147.

¹⁴⁸ Lindsay, Letter 2: *Gesta etiam synodi, in qua Sintharius examinis vestri igni etsi non purificatus invenitur, tamen decoctus, quaeso ut vestro instinctu a filio vestro domino rege nobis dirigantur cito. Nam et nostra eius sic flagitavit gloriam suggestio, quia multum in concilio pro investiganda opus est veritate.*

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 46, and *infra*, p. 144.

¹⁵⁰ Letter 21, edited by F. Fita, *Suplementos al concilio nacional Tolledo VI*, p. 27: *Domino reverentissimo et apostolicae gloriae meritis honorando Papae Honorio, universi episcopi, per Hispaniam constituti.*

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28: *Hoc quidem jam olim altissimo inspiramine et sacra meditatione, gloriosissimi et clementissimi, filii vestri, Principis nostri, Chintilanis regis insederat animis. Sed dum sua accelerat vota; vestra, Deo favente, ad eum perlata sunt hortamenta. . . . corda Principis simul et vestra conformiter religione commoverit.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 32: *Ergo, praecipue et excellentissime Antistitum, tam pro Serenitate filii vestri Principis nostri, quam pro nobis vel pro pleibus nobis commissis, apud Deum intercessionis tuae porrige opem, . . .*

In 641 Chindaswinth ascended to the throne and in Letters 25 and 27, written before 646, we found Braulio approaching the king through the protection of the abbot Emilian.¹⁵³ In Letters 31-33, written in 646, we have Braulio in direct contact and disagreement with Chindaswinth over the selection of Eugene for the see of Toledo as we saw above.¹⁵⁴ In Letter 31 Braulio begs the king not to take Eugene from him. The salutation is interesting for the changes it brings to Braulio's pen. In writing to a bishop, Braulio, Isidore, and the abbot Emilian would refer to the king as "your son, our lord."¹⁵⁵ Here Braulio is careful to drop the title of "son."¹⁵⁶ To his ordinary designation of himself, "*servus inutilis sanctorum Dei*," he adds "*et vester*." His Letter is heavy with supplication and the king is called "*sacratissime*" and "*piissime*."¹⁵⁷ That his objection was real and not just politely perfunctory may be deduced from a passage which is almost a threat: "I pray that you separate him not from me, as you would not be separated from the Kingdom of Heaven, and would have your seed possess your kingdom."¹⁵⁸

The king answers him in Letter 32: "His Lord, to the holy and venerable Father, Bishop Braulio."¹⁵⁹ As in all regal letters, we find the king placing his own title of "Lord" before the name and title of the receiver.¹⁶⁰ His answer is a refusal couched in very respectful words; Braulio is "your sanctity," "your beatitude," and "most blessed man."¹⁶¹ His only

¹⁵³ Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

¹⁵⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 677-679; cf. *supra*, p. 59.

¹⁵⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 670 B; 675 A; and Lindsay, Letters 2, 4.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 677 D: *Suggerendum glorioso domino nostro Chindaswintho regi, Braulio servus inutilis sanctorum Dei et vester.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 678 A and C.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, B: ... ideoque preces dirigo ut non separes eum a me, sic non separeris a regno Dei, et semen tuum regnum possideat tuum.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, C: Dominus, sancto ac venerabili Patri Braulioni episcopo.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Letters 39 (?), and 41.

¹⁶¹ *P.L.*, 80, 678 D: *tua sanctitas*; 679 A: *vestra beatitudo*; 679 B: *beatissime vir*.

argument is: Almighty God inspires as He wishes and must be obeyed.¹⁶² The style and scriptural argument of the Letter pose the question: "Is this not the work of the king's counselor, the abbot Emilian of Letters 25-27?"

In Letter 33 Braulio politely but reluctantly capitulates, though he reiterates his plea.¹⁶³

If the incident strained the relations between the two, time healed all. One very close to Braulio and his successor in the see, Tajo, was requested by the king to perform a mission in Rome,¹⁶⁴ and only close friendship, perhaps, even, political collusion, can explain an event which took place two years later (648). In 649 Chindaswinth associated his son Receswinth with him in the rule of the country. This dynastic move was made only after a letter from Braulio had requested it.¹⁶⁵ Written probably in 648, Letter 37 is the plea of Braulio, another bishop, Eutropius, and Count Celsus, in the name of all their peoples, that the future of the country be provided for in this way.¹⁶⁶ The plea is based on Scriptural texts and ends with an apology for any presumption.¹⁶⁷ Both kings must have been pleased with Braulio's action.

Shortly after Receswinth's accession to co-rulership in the year

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 678 D, and 679 B: Nam Deus omnipotens, . . . ubi vult inspirat, . . . Ergo, beatissime vir, quia aliud quam quod Deo est placitum non credas me posse facturum, . . .

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 679 B: . . . tamen eum ad vestram, ut jussio gloriae vestrae habuit, misimus praesentiam non sine spe pietatis vestrae, qua soliti estis et miseros respicere, et afflictis subvenire, scilicet ut restituatis eum. . . .

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 155.

¹⁶⁵ Treated more fully as political philosophy, *infra*, p. 142.

¹⁶⁶ *P.L.*, 80, 684 B: Sugerendum gloriosissimo domino nostro Chindasvintho regi, Braulio et Eutropius episcopi servuli vestri, cum presbyteris, diaconibus, et omnibus a Deo sibi creditis, nec non et Celsus servus vester cum territoriis a clementia vestra sibi commissis. *Ibid.*, C: . . . in futurum patriae providentes, . . .

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, D: . . . nam etsi incurrimus petitionis temeritatem, non vero insolentia praesumptionis, sed, quam praemisimus, cogitationis necessitate.

649, Letters 38-41 passed between him and Braulio.¹⁶⁸ The four Letters deal with the correcting of a large codex which the king had sent to Braulio. The codex was very probably a draft of the *Forum judicum*.¹⁶⁹ The Letters are short. In Letter 38 Braulio complains about the innumerable corrections to be made. In Letter 39 the king thanks him for undertaking the task in spite of the hardships entailed. In Letter 40, which is truncated, Braulio regrets that he has not done more perfect work in his task. In Letter 41 Receswinth deftly praises the bishop's ability and humility.

The titles used by the two men are not extraordinary. Receswinth addresses Braulio as "Your Paternity."¹⁷⁰ This explains why the king was "son" to a bishop.¹⁷¹ There is no especial warmth of feeling expressed by either; even the praise is perfunctory. The reappearance of "God inspires as He wishes" in Letter 41, leads one to suspect that the abbot Emilian is still the royal scribe.¹⁷² What the Letters here considered do express is the pre-eminent reputation that Braulio enjoyed at the court as Spain's greatest living scholar.

Braulio's relations with his sisters are inconsiderable. We have two Letters from his pen addressed to them, both consolatory, Letter 15 (c. 633) to Basilla on the death of her husband, and Letter 18 (634-635) to Pomponia on the death of Basilla.¹⁷³ As in all his Letters to the laity, the personal note is subdued. Titles are scarce as they were in his Letters to his brother Fronimian.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 685, 686.

¹⁶⁹ This hypothesis and the four Letters receive fuller consideration, *infra*, p. 137.

¹⁷⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 685 D; 686 C.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 74.

¹⁷² *P.L.*, 80, 686 B: Sed quia inspiratio divinae virtutis in unumquemque, prout vult, inspirat, . . .

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 662, 664. Cf. *supra*, pp. 13, 17.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 71.

As for other relatives we find Braulio writing about 636 to Hojo and Eutrocia, two women, probably of Gothic blood, consoling them on the death of Hugnan, their son and husband respectively. They must have been close to him in ties for he wrote two letters, Letters 19 and 20, within the space of a week in an attempt to quench their sorrow.¹⁷⁵ A pleasing personal note is added to Letter 19 when the good bishop asks them to send a certain Hermenfredus, perhaps Eutrocia's child, to visit with him.¹⁷⁶ Hermenfredus very probably made the trip, for Braulio knew within seven days that his first Letter had not consoled the family as he had wished.

Another noble Goth and probable relative is consoled by Braulio in the person of Ataulfus, recipient of Letter 28.¹⁷⁷ Nothing more is known of this "*charissime domine*"¹⁷⁸ unless he is to be identified, as Lambert suggests, with one of the two counts of this name who in 653 assisted at the Eighth Council of Toledo.¹⁷⁹ Braulio consoles him on the death of his mother-in-law, Domna Mello, and in parting salutes him "with all humility and reverence."¹⁸⁰

The possible blood-relationship of Wistremirus to Braulio we have considered above.¹⁸¹ He is the recipient of the consolatory Letter 30 on the occasion of his wife's death.¹⁸² That he was intimate with Braulio may be deduced from the fact that he wrote a letter, now lost, to the bishop, informing him of the

¹⁷⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 665-667. 665 C: ...in funere Hugnanis... 666 C: altera enim prolem, altera amisit conjugem; sed et nos ipsi amicum. 667 A: In quantum audio, nulla vobis est consolatio post septimum diem.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 666 D: Hermenfredum nunc ad me remittite, ut viso me ad vos debeat redire.

¹⁷⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 675 D.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Lambert, "Ataulf," *D.H.G.E.*; K. Zeumer, *Leges Wisigothorum, M.G.H.*, p. 485; also *supra*, p. 11.

¹⁸⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 676 A: De caetero cum omni humilitate et reverentia saluto.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 10.

¹⁸² *P.L.*, 80, 677.

death.¹⁸³ That he was of the nobility is indicated by Braulio's reference to him as " *illistrissime virorum.*"¹⁸⁴

Three well-born friends of Braulio, known only by his Letters, are Gundeswinda, Agivarius, and Nebridius. The first two, apparently a sister and brother, are consoled in Letter 29 on the death of their mother.¹⁸⁵ The salutation marks them distinctly as Gothic nobles and exceptionally dear to Braulio.¹⁸⁶ Nebridius, on the other hand, who is consoled on the death of his wife in Letter 34, while a close friend—his wife, perhaps, being a closer friend—was neither Gothic nor noble, if we may judge by his name and the salutation.¹⁸⁷ Interesting is Braulio's promise at the end of the Letter to write later on subjects of mutual interest.¹⁸⁸

It is to be regretted that Letter 16 is alone of its kind.¹⁸⁹ It is the only epistle to the laity which does not make consolation its main theme. A Lady Apicella doubtlessly of Roman stock, educated and presumably noble, wrote to Braulio asking for a codex of the Old Testament or some portions thereof.¹⁹⁰ These facts are deduced from his answer, Letter 16, " to the Lady, and daughter in Christ, Apicella."¹⁹¹ The bishop is kind in the face of her request, for he sends her a copy prepared for

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, A: Jam enim ille ferialis nuntius me confecerat, quando per tuas litteras redintegratus redivivus aderat.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 676 C: Nec lugeatis quod amiseritis, sed gaudete quod ad vitam aeternam matrem vestram praemiseritis.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, A: Illustribus dominis, et in Christo dilectissimis, Gundesvindae et Agivario, Braulio servus inutilis sanctorum Dei.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 679-680 C: Domino meo et mihi praecipue in Christo filio Nebridio, Braulio sanctorum Dei inutilis servus. D: Ad me pervenit quia filia mea conjux tua et utrisque charissima, heu! ab hac migravit vita.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 680 C: Multa sunt quae occurebant ut charitati tuae scriberem.

¹⁸⁹ *P.L.*, 80, 663.

¹⁹⁰ On Braulio's library and scriptorium see *infra*, p. 165.

¹⁹¹ *P.L.*, 80, 663 B: Dominae et in Christo filiae Apicellae, Braulio servus inutilis sanctorum Dei.

another.¹⁹² This graciousness does not seem to be prompted so much by close friendship as by the lady's condition. He recommends especially to her the resignation of the blind Tobias and the widowed Judith to console her in her widowhood.¹⁹³ He closes with a request for her prayers.¹⁹⁴

Braulio's relations with the lower strata of society can be based on suppositions only. Even the solicitude he shows for the messenger who is carrying his Letter 5 proves to be solicitude for his own deacon, perhaps Eugene, and not for a layman.¹⁹⁵ It is the only case wherein he mentions his messenger, and his concern is not remarkable, since Isidore set him the example in Letter 1.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, Siquidem alii fuerat hic Codex conscriptus, tamen quia petitionem vestram offendere non potuimus, vobis misimus.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*: ...habes enim ibi sanctum Tobiam, cuius amissio oculorum consoletur animum tuum super amissum virum: habes et Judith, quae in viduitate ornata viduitatem tuam doceat virtutibus esse compositam,...

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, C: Vale in Domino, et nostri memor pro nobis orare dignare.

¹⁹⁵ Letter 5, Braulio to Isidore, Lindsay, Letter 4, at end: Hunc autem filium praesentem beatissimae potestati vestrae per omnia commendo, ... Letter 6, Isidore to Braulio (answering Letter 5; cf. *supra*, p. 48), Lindsay, Letter 5: Veni ad praesentiam principis; inveni praesentem diaconem tuum; per eum eloquia tua suscipiens...

¹⁹⁶ Letter 1, Isidore to Braulio, Lindsay, Letter B: Commendo autem hunc puerum; ...

CHAPTER IV

THE THEOLOGIAN

DOGOMATIC THEOLOGY—LITURGY—THE BIBLE

THE preceding chapter was, to a considerable extent a study of Braulio in the light of pastoral theology. The present chapter proposes to study him from the viewpoint of his interest in theology proper, in liturgy, and in Sacred Scripture. He has left us no formal work in any one of the three fields. This study, therefore, is based on the numerous references to these subjects found in his Letters and in his *Life of St. Emilian*.

DOGOMATIC THEOLOGY

A study of the beliefs and teachings of Braulio in the field of theology could be made from the numerous extant writings of his time in Spain.¹ particularly from the canons of the Toledan Councils, with which he was greatly occupied.² The “theological perfection” of these councils has been duly recognized.³ We are concerned here, however, with Braulio’s attested writings.

Because of the theological content of those snatches of his writings which are of use here, it seems best to study the subject in the following order. We shall consider first his references to divine grace, and then the two chief sources of grace, the sacraments and prayer. Lastly we shall treat of his creed, or rather, those articles of a creed which enter his writings.

¹ For a summary of theology in this period see I. de Groot, S.J., *Conspectus historiae dogmatum*, II (Rome, 1931), 256-330: *Dogma apud Patres occidentales a saeculo V usque ad VIII*.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 127.

³ Cf. J. de Ghellinek, “Diffusion, utilisation, et transmission des écrits patristiques,” *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), 376-377.

Braulio had no occasion and undoubtedly lacked the ability to go deeply into the problem of grace with its corollary, predestination. He uses the word "gratia" loosely in several different meanings. In one instance it is the divine help necessary to carry out the duties of one's state. He assures King Chindaswindth that his son will make an excellent ruler "with the help of heavenly grace."⁴ It is by special graces, or charismata, that he hopes to write the *Life of St. Emilian*.⁵ It is the charismata of the Saint that he is anxious to describe in the *Life*,⁶ even those that were inherent in the body of the Saint after death.⁷ A wish expressed at the end of a Letter: "I pray that the Divine Piety may deign to keep you in his every grace," evidently refers to the favor and friendship of God rather than to the "state of grace."⁸ The word "gratia" is used in reference to the divine power exerted in the mystery by which bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ; Braulio says this sacrament is possible "quia omnia excedit supereminens gratia."⁹

Of the fact that the sacraments are the principal source of grace, Braulio nowhere makes mention. He does not define a sacrament, but we may suppose that with Isidore he considered it to be an outward sign giving grace.¹⁰ The important dogma

⁴ Letter 37, *ibid.*, 684 D: ...auxiliante superna gratia, ...

⁵ *Vita S. Aemiliani*, ed. T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 217: ...Christus qui agit mirabilia solus, fuerit, sitque per eum charismata operatus: ...

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 226: Et quamvis pulchriora fuerint illa charismata que latuerint quam ista quae variis virtutum donis se in lucem protulerint; ...

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240: ...sed qui diximus de viventibus mirabilibus, cur taceamus de defuncti charismatibus?

⁸ Letter 28 to Ataulfus, *P.L.*, 80, 676 A: ...præcor pietatem divinam ut te conservare dignetur in omni sua gratia.

⁹ Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 690 A.

¹⁰ *Etymologies*, VI, 19, 39 and 40 (*P.L.*, 82, 255 C): Sacramentum est in aliqua celebratione, cum res gesta ita fit ut aliquid significare intelligatur, quod sancte accipiendum est. Sunt autem sacramenta baptismus et chrisma, corpus et sanguis.

Quae ob id sacramenta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium rerum

of the Faith that the sacraments give grace of themselves, *ex opere operato*, he does state clearly. This orthodox view goes almost unnoticed, however, for in the same passage with it he is guilty of a striking theological blunder. He expresses the belief that a sacrament may be valid, even if the minister does not have the intention of conferring it and does not use the proper form, that is, the words prescribed. Shortly after Eugene had left Braulio in 646 to become Metropolitan of Toledo, Eugene found that he had inherited a difficult problem from his predecessor, Eugene I. An unworthy subject for Holy Orders was ordained to the priesthood by Eugene I due to regal coercion. This priest was now actively engaged in the ministry under Eugene II, who was tormented by doubt as to whether this priest was validly ordained, and whether the sacraments administered by this priest were valid. In Letter 35 he asks Braulio for solutions to these two problems, after explaining as carefully as he can the manner in which that priest was ordained by Eugene I.¹¹

He led him to the altar, made no imposition of the hand, and while the clerics were singing loud, he spoke a malediction over him instead of a benediction, as he testified later to persons close to him

virtus divina secretius salutem eorumdem sacramentorum operatur, unde et a secretis virtutibus, vel a sacris sacramenta dicuntur.—Isidore knew and used the older and wider meanings of the word *sacramentum*. Cf. *P.L.*, 82, 257 B; 258 B; 83, 207 B. For the early history of the word see J. de Ghellinck, *et al.*, *Pour l'histoire du mot "Sacramentum"* I. *Les Anténicéens (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, fasc. 3, 1924).

¹¹ Ed. F. Vollmer, *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina, M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XIV, 283: *Fuit idem ipse frater molestissimus domino meo Eugenio. Rogatus a rege, ut eum presbyterum ordinaret, quia iussioni principis resistere non valuit, hoc genus factionis invenit: duxit eum ad altarium, manum non inposuit et cantantibus clericis in excelso, pro benedictione maledictionem effudit, sicut ipse hoc personis idoneis et sibi carissimis postmodum publicavit conjurans, ut hoc quandiu viveret reticerent. Quid inde fieri praecipit vestra prudentia, cita me iussione certifica; nam nescio aut si iste presbyter habeatur, aut si illi qui per eum baptizati chrismate praenotati sunt, recte Christicola vocentur.*

and worthy of belief, conjuring them to silence while he lived. Inform me speedily of what your Prudence would want done in this case, for I do not know if he is to be considered a priest, or if they who, having been baptized, were anointed with chrism by him are rightly called Christians.

Braulio in Letter 36 goes into the two questions carefully and sums up his solutions:¹²

I do not see why he is not to be considered a priest, if he (Eugene I) recognized him publicly to be a priest, whom he did not wish to be a priest. Furthermore, I do not see why those who have been anointed with holy chrism (in baptism) by this priest are not to be called Christians; he is unworthy, but they have, nevertheless, been anointed with a true chrism.

Braulio's faulty theology in the solution of the first problem may be attributed to a confusion of judgment arising from his very heated condemnation of Eugene I for his simulation of Holy Orders. He throws full responsibility on Eugene I,¹³ failing to see the implications of his theological decision. These quoted passages contain other problems to which we shall shortly return.

Braulio has no occasion in his Letters to list the sacraments formally. Informally he uses the word *sacramentum* only in referring to the Holy Eucharist, where it is equivalent to the word *mysterium*.¹⁴ This is in keeping with Isidore's identification of the two words.¹⁵ Of the seven rites to which the name sacra-

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 285: Et cur non habeatur presbyter, non video, si ille eum publicavit presbyterem esse qui noluit ut iste presbyter esset; aut quare non ab isto unguine sacro tincti vocentur Christicola, quia etsi iste indignus, chrismate tamen vero sunt illi peruncti.

¹³ *Ibid.*: ...in nullo iste mihi, sed potius ille videtur culpabilis fuisse, qui dolo malo aliud egit et aliud simulavit. Ac per hoc ille, cuius factio in tantum nefas prorupit, ut mihi videtur, onus suum ipse portabit.

¹⁴ Letter 10, *P.L.*, 80, 656 D: Direxisti nobis quod in sacramento offertur corporis Christi; remisimus vobis quod in ejusdem Domini mysterio sanguinem praefigurat, vini metra videlicet duo.

¹⁵ Speaking of *sacramentum* he says (*Etymologies*, VI, 19, 42); ...unde et Graece *mysterium* dicitur. A few lines later (*ibid.*, 45) he calls Baptism a mystery.

ment was later reserved by the Church, Extreme Unction is not mentioned by Braulio. Matrimony is referred to in the consolatory Letters, but the holiness of its state is not discussed. Penance is referred to as a virtue at times, and once he quotes St. James' words: "Confess therefore your sins one to another."¹⁶ He does provide us with valuable information on the sacraments of Baptism, Holy Eucharist, and Holy Orders. Contrary to all former opinions, however, on the subject, we do not believe that there is any reference in the Letters to the sacrament of Confirmation.

In Letters 35 and 36, which we were just considering, Eugene and Braulio refer often to an "anointing with holy chrism." This has usually been construed as a reference to Confirmation.¹⁷ This opinion does not seem to be tenable. We touch here on a much wider problem, which is the history of the sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation. There were, and are to this day, anointings with holy chrism both in Baptism and in Confirmation.¹⁸ In many ancient writers "to anoint with chrism" signified the conferring of the sacrament of Confirmation. It is not surprising, then, to find most authorities deciding that Isidore was listing three sacraments, namely, Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Eucharist, when he wrote: "*Sunt autem sacramenta baptismus et chrisma, corpus et sanguis.*"¹⁹ A few observations,

¹⁶ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 692 D: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra* (*James*, 5, 16).

¹⁷ F. de Lorenzana in his edition of Eugene's works, *P.L.*, 87, 405-410, note; R. Ceillier, *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, XI, 742-743; M. Férotin, *Liber ordinum*, col. 34, n. 1; Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 6; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe," *D.A.C.L.*, XII, 450.

¹⁸ Cf. P. de Puniet, "Confirmation," *D.A.C.L.*, II, ii (1914), 2515-2543; W. Kavanagh, *Lay Participation in Christ's Priesthood*, Washington, 1935, pp. 74, 83, 85.

¹⁹ For text cf. *supra*, p. 87, n. 10. Among the recent writers holding this view are De Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 298, and J. Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter. Isidor von Sevilla und das Sakrament der Eucharistie*, Munich, 1933, p. 168.

however, seem to indicate that Isidore is here naming only Baptism and the Eucharist, and that "anointing with holy chrism" usually signified to Isidore, Braulio, and Eugene, the post-baptismal anointing. Séjourné, who alone among contemporary writers, might seem to favor this view, has already called attention to the importance which baptismal anointing had in Isidore's period.²⁰ It is manifest when we parallel passages from the *Etymologies*, the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, and Letters 35 and 36. In the same chapter where Isidore names Baptism and Holy Eucharist as sacraments, he devotes much space to a description of the two.²¹ He devotes seven paragraphs to Baptism as the *tinctio*, and four to *Chrisma* as an *unctio*. One paragraph is then devoted to the imposition of the hands, which would be Confirmation. His intentions are clear when we turn to the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.²² There he devotes a long chapter to Baptism. In it he writes that only bishops and priests may administer it, except in cases of necessity.²³ He adds that heretics at conversion, if they have been already properly baptized, are not to be rebaptized, but that they are to be anointed, and the imposition of the hands is to take place. A short chapter is

Cf. also J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, III (Paris, 1912), 340-367; F. Daillé, "Confirmation," *Dictionnaire de la théologie catholique*, III, 1058.

²⁰ P. Séjourné, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 244.

²¹ *Etymologies*, VI, 19, 30-54. Cf. also *Contra Judaeos*, II, 24, 25, 27.

²² II, 25-27 (*P.L.*, 83, 820-826).

²³ 25, 9: Unde constat baptisma solis sacerdotibus esse tractandum, ejusque ministerium nec ipsis diaconibus explere est licitum absque episcopo, vel presbytero, nisi his procul absentibus, ultima languoris cogat necessitas: quod etiam et laicis fidelibus plerumque permittitur, ne quisquam sine remedio salutari de saeculo evocetur. Haeretici autem, si tamen in Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti attestatione docentur baptisma suscepisse, non iterum baptizandi, sed solo chrismate et manus impositione purgandi sunt.—The need of quoting this passage will be evident shortly.—Attention is called to Séjourné's serious slip in translating this passage. He takes it to mean that a priest, like a deacon, is only an extraordinary minister of the sacrament. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 241.

then devoted to the chrisma. In it he writes: “. . . ideo post lavacrum ungimus . . .”²⁴ This *chrisma* must refer to the anointing immediately after Baptism, as we shall now see. The next chapter is longer and is entitled: “*De manuum impositione, vel confirmatione.*” Most of it is devoted to the imposition of the hands, which is strictly reserved to the bishops.²⁵ Towards the very end of the chapter we read, however, an interesting passage which explains that a priest in anointing after Baptism must be careful not to anoint on the forehead, for it is there that the bishop will anoint when he administers Confirmation.²⁶ Here, then, is a reference to the second anointing, conferred at Confirmation, and it is reserved to the bishop. Letters 35 and 36 now become more intelligible.

The translations which were quoted from these Letters above contained these passages: Eugene asked, “if they who, having been baptized, were anointed with chrism by him are rightly called Christians;” Braulio answered, “I do not see why those who have been anointed with holy chrism by this priest are not to be called Christians.” Evidently a priest is the minister of the sacrament in question, therefore Confirmation is not being discussed. Furthermore, Braulio considers the anointing to be so important a part of Baptism, that he calls the sacrament “the anointing with holy chrism.” The fact that Braulio says that they are to be called Christians after a valid anointing is further proof that Baptism is the sacrament in question. In discussing the same unworthy priest, Braulio writes, “. . . si baptizavit, si chrismavit, si sacrificium obtulit . . .” Two sacraments are men-

²⁴ 26, 2.

²⁵ 27, 3: . . . non ab alio quam episcopo fieri licere . . .

²⁶ 27, 4: Nam presbyteris, seu extra episcopum, sive praesente episcopo, cum baptizant, chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab episcopo fuerit consecratum, non tamen frontem ex eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur episcopis, cum tradunt Spiritum Paracletum.—This point is made even more clear by Ildefonse, *Liber de cognitione baptismi*, cap. 131 (P.L., 96, 166 A).

tioned here, with the post-baptismal anointing again showing its importance.

If the preceding solution of this problem is granted, we may now throw additional light on the administration of the sacrament of Baptism in Braulio's time by quoting more from Letter 36:²⁷

Ancient canons have forbidden a priest to have the audacity to administer chrism, a prohibition observed up to now, as we know, in the Orient and throughout Italy; later, priests were permitted to administer it, provided the chrism was blessed by the bishops, in order that it would not appear to be a privilege of priests to consecrate the people of God with this holy unction, but only of the bishops, by whose benediction and permission they performed the ministration, as if by the episcopal hand. If this is so, why should they not be considered Catholics who were anointed by him, as if by the hand of the bishop, although an unworthy one, since, as I said, they were anointed with a holy and true chrism, blessed by the bishop, and with his permission? It is manifest that Baptism, given in the name of the Trinity, should not be repeated, but we are not forbidden to anoint heretics who we find were not anointed with a true chrism.

There is even more light to be thrown on the sacrament in Letters 35 and 36. Eugene had three problems for Braulio to answer, only the first of which we have discussed so far. The other two are intimately connected with the same sacrament.

²⁷ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 285: Optime novit prudentia tua canonum antiqua esse statuta, ut presbyter chrismare non audeat; quod servare et orientem et omnem Italiam hucusque scimus; sed postea consultum est ut chrismarent presbyteres, sed de chrismate benedicto ab episcopis, ut non videatur presbyterorum hoc esse privilegium, cum ab illa unctione sancta populum dei sacrant, sed episcoporum, quorum benedictione et permissu, quasi de manu episcopi, ita hujusce rei peragunt officia. Quod si ita est, cur et iste, quasi manus episcopi, quamvis inutilis, quos chrismavit, non habeantur catholici, cum, ut dixi, sancto et vero chrismate ab episcopo sacrato et cum illius permissu fuerint peruncti? Manifestum est baptisma in nomine trinitatis data non debere iterari, chrismare autem non prohibemur haereticos, quos a vero chrismate invenimus extraneos.

"In some places," wrote Eugene,²⁸ "deacons have been anointing with chrism, and I do not know what we should do about those so anointed. Should the unction with holy chrism be repeated?" His third question was:²⁹ "Some priests, against law and the ancient canons, have presumed to anoint the baptized with chrism which they themselves have made (if such is to be called chrism). What is to be done as regards those so anointed?" Apparently in administering baptism the deacons were anointing, as well as baptizing when priests were unavailable,³⁰ but Braulio makes it clear that they were not to anoint the baptized, and advises Eugene to punish any deacons who should do so, for the presumption.³¹ As for the chrism blessed by the priests, instead of the bishops, Braulio rules that it is not holy chrism.³²

On the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, Braulio is clear and theologically sound. He makes no reference, however, to reception of Holy Communion by the people. Above we found him speaking of a priest who "offered the sacrifice." He speaks in

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 283: In aliquibus itidem locis diacones chrismare persensimus, et ignoro quid de his, qui ab eisdem chrismati sunt, facere debeamus; nunquidnam iterabitur sancti chrismatis unctio?

²⁹ *Ibid.*: Presbyteri aliqui contra jus et vetitum canonum de chrismate quod ipsi sibi conficiunt (si tamen chrisma istud est nominandum), baptizatos signare praesumunt. Quid aut taliter signatis remedii....

³⁰ Cf. supra, p. 91, n. 23.

³¹ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 285: Scribitis etiam et hoc, in quibusdam locis diacones chrismare vos repperisse. Nihil in hac quaestione amplius quam in prima invenio, nisi ut sacrum chrisma vestra auctoritate et indulgentia pontificali persistat et illi, qui ista aut nescientia aut praesumptione patrarent, dignam in se et distinctionis vindictam et ecclesiastici ordinis normam sub poena et penitentia persentiant,...

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286: ...tertiam ingerit ignorantiae meae prudentia vestra scribens, quod quidam presbyteri de chrismate, quod sibi ipsi conficiunt (si tamen chrisma istud erit nominandum) baptizatos signare praesumunt. Bene, fateor, et optime dubitas non esse chrisma, quod non solum non ab episcopis, sed contra ius et vetitum canonum a praesumptoribus presbyteris videtur esse sacramum.

his Letter to Jactatus of bread and wine as the matter of the sacrament.³³ In the passage he calls the sacrament a "mystery." A passage in Letter 42 presents the doctrine of the True Presence in a striking manner.³⁴ Tajo, in the *Fragmentum epistolae*, questions Braulio about a relic of Our Lord's Blood.³⁵ Why argue about the uncertain, he answers, when we have the true Blood on our altars every day.³⁶

Let us turn to what is true and firm, to what most assuredly keeps any Christian and good Catholic from doubting or quibbling: namely that through the sacrament bread and wine offered to God become for us the true Body and Blood of Christ according to the words of the Lord and the Sacred Scriptures composed by the Holy Ghost, which sacrament the Catholic Church offers daily on her altar according to the order of Melchisedech by the true pontiff, Jesus Christ, with mystical understanding and a remarkable dearth of speech, because surpassing grace overcomes all.

Not to go unnoticed in this passage are the bishop's reference to the frequency with which Mass was celebrated, and the indication that the celebrant was considered as representing Christ.

One other reference to the Mass is of interest. In Letter 20, Braulio speaks of remembering the soul of Hugnan at Mass.³⁷

³³ Letter 10, *P.L.*, 80, 656 D: *Direxisti nobis quod in sacramento offertur corporis Christi; remisimus vobis quod in ejusdem Domini mysterio sanguinem praefigurat, vini metra videlicet duo.*

³⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 690 A.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 686 D.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 690 A: ...ad vera et firma convertamur, quae nulli prorsus Christiano et recte catholico aut in ambage, aut in disceptatione venire possunt: esse scilicet nobis per sacramentum panem et vinum Deo oblatum Christi corpus et sanguinem verum secundum ipsius Domini verba, et Scripturas sacras Spiritu sancto digestas, quod quotidie super altare ipsius ab Ecclesia catholica secundum ordinem Melchisedech a vero pontifice offertur Christo Jesu mystica intelligentia et inenarrabile sermonis inopia, quia omnia excedit supereminens gratia.—Edmund Bishop professes to find in this incident proof that Braulio belonged to an old, or conservative school of thought, and that Tajo belonged to a new, or liberal. Cf. Bishop, "Spanish Symptons," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, VIII (1906-1907), 288, n. 2.

³⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 667 B: *Jam enim et nos nominis ejus memoriam in obla-*

Tajo's *Fragmentum epistolae* and Braulio's long Letter 42 in response, provide us with an invaluable bit of theological lore on the Blood of Christ and the resurrection of the body.³⁸ Probably while on his trip to Rome,³⁹ Tajo had heard of, and perhaps seen, relics of Our Lord's Blood. Does this mean, he queries Braulio, that Our Lord's risen Body did not reassume its Blood, and that we shall not reassume ours after resurrection?⁴⁰ A summary of Braulio's lengthy answer follows.⁴¹

On your question of the resurrection of the dead, I can say no more than I have learned from the writings of St. Augustine which are in my possession. I do not doubt that we shall reassume our blood in the resurrection, but I doubt that all of it will be reassumed. There will be superfluous blood, just as there will be superfluous hair and nail parings, which will not be reassumed. The beauty of the risen body will demand this. Whatever is proper to the nature of our body will be restored in the resurrection; the nature of the human body is all that which renders the body of man integral and sound. Now in looking into this matter we should be careful, for as St. Paul says, 'be not more wise than it behooveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety' (Rom. XII, 3). Superstitions and silly questions may arise from such querying. For instance, there are those who would deny that Our Lord has risen because there is good reason to believe that there are relics of His blood extant among us. Undoubtedly the column in Jerusalem with vestiges of His blood, seen by St. Jerome and by others over the centuries, was left to us as testimony of His passion. The linens and shroud, in which Our Lord was wrapped, may well have

tionem ad altarium Domini fecimus, et Christo omnipotenti animam ejus commendavimus.

³⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 686 D; 687-690.

³⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 62.

⁴⁰ His questions are deduced from Braulio's answer to his fragmentary letter. The historical background of these problems is summed up in a work by J. Rohling, *The Blood of Christ in Christian Latin Literature before the Year 1000*, Washington, 1932. The author does not refer to these important passages and, consequently, statements on page 88 of his work must be changed.

⁴¹ The answer occupies two columns. *P.L.*, 80, 688-689.

been saved by the Apostles as relics. The fame of such relics alone would assure a good Christian that they were preserved carefully, though dispersed throughout the world. Yet in all this, we should be careful not to give the enemies of our Faith grounds for attack or ridicule. Perhaps Our Lord's bloody sweat, and the blood mixed with water from His side were preserved for us by His disciples. Yet John and the holy women were the only disciples at the cross, and he wrote a gospel in which no mention is made of blood being collected. It is true, however, that John said, 'There are also many other things which Jesus did, which are not written in this book' (John XXI, 25). Hence in these matters, let him affirm them who will; I confess to ignorance in them. Why waste our time quibbling about them, when we have his true blood daily on our altars?

The theological perfection of this answer assures us that Braulio was depending, as he himself confesses in a scholarly way, on older authorities.⁴² If we can not praise him for originality, we can praise him for being well-read and for his sound judgment. The importance of the reference to the Holy Shroud has only recently been pointed out.⁴³

Braulio throws light on the sacrament of Holy Orders in Letter 17.⁴⁴ He testifies that according to "the sanctions of the Fathers and canonical decrees" an aspirant's bishop is the only one

⁴² Braulio does not seem to be quoting directly from Augustine. He intimates that he is using scattered passages from his works: Noveris non me aliud de resurrectione mortuorum credere aut exspectare quam quae a sancto Augustino per diversa opuscula sua quae ad manus venerunt meas ... sunt dissertata (P.L., 80, 687 D). Augustine's only reference to the integrity of Christ's risen body is in *De Trinitate*, IV, 3 (P.L., 42, 892).

⁴³ Cf. E. Wuenschel, "The Holy Shroud of Turin," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, 93 (1935), 448.—The *illatio* of the mass for the Saturday after Easter in Mozarabic liturgy, written about Braulio's time, records that the shroud of Christ bore the imprints of His Body: "Ad monumentum Petrus cum Ioanne cucurrit, recentiaque in linteaminibus defuncti et resurgentis uestigia cernit" (M. Férotin, *Le liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, col. 291). Cf. also P. Vignon, "The Problem of the Holy Shroud," *Scientific American*, 156, no. 3 (1937), 162-164, and *Le saint suaire de Turin*, Paris, 1938, pp. 95, 100.

⁴⁴ P.L., 80, 663-664. Cf. also *supra*, p. 63.

qualified to ordain him;⁴⁵ likewise that this is not to be done "without seeking testimony upon, and examining into, his life."⁴⁶ In Letter 35 we found Eugene giving the "three rites" of ordination: the leading to the altar, the imposition of the hands, and the asking of a blessing.⁴⁷ He is worried about an irregular ordination by his predecessor, in which the last two rites were omitted.⁴⁸ Séjourné, treating the matter at length, believes that the ritual of Holy Orders was already firmly fixed in a double rite, mentioned here by Eugene, namely, the imposition of the hands and the words pronounced.⁴⁹ He finds it difficult to excuse Eugene's perplexity and admit the response of Braulio, which would permit the candidate to exercise the ministry.⁵⁰ His conclusion is that Braulio and his contemporaries were confused by "*une suite de cérémonies*," and did not know which were essential.

In his *Life of St. Emilian*, Braulio makes it clear that a priest was as firmly under the jurisdiction of his bishop, as is a priest to-day.⁵¹ Emilian, after living for a few years with a hermit,

⁴⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 663 D: Non sum ignarus me contra Patrum sanctiones et decreta canonum egisse, cum monachum vestrum de asylo monasterii me scio et subdiaconum et diaconum sacrasse.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 664 A: ...et ideo in hunc famulum vestrum ordinationem dedi, non tamen sine testificatione et inquisitione ipsius vitae.

⁴⁷ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 283: Duxit eum ad altarium, manum non posuit et cantantibus clericis in excelso, pro benedictione maledictionem effudit, ... Férotin calls this "three rites;" *op. cit.*, col. 54, n. 2. Cf. also, Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, II, i, 196-197.

⁴⁸ La difficulté que ce primat de Tolède, très-docte d'ailleurs, ne parvenait pas à resoudre, n'arrêterait pas deux minutes aujourd'hui un séminariste de première année. J. Tailhan, "Appendice sur l'Espagne," in C. Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges*..., p. 238, n. 5.

⁴⁹ For further study of the problem, it is imperative that the text of Séjourné be read, in *Saint Isidore de Séville*, pp. 192-194.

⁵⁰ Braulio's response is Letter 36, Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

⁵¹ *Vita S. Aemiliani*, Minguela, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-243.—Braulio's attitude toward the episcopacy is well summed up in his sentence: "Who spurns their precepts, spurns the precepts of Christ." Letter 36, Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

was sought by Didymus, Bishop of Tarazona, for ordination. He received Holy Orders from Didymus, and, despite his desire to return to the contemplative life, was assigned to the parish of Berceo. Some fellow priests complained of his zeal to the bishop, whereupon he was forced to resign. He then returned to the hermitic life.⁵²

On the subject of prayer, the second great source of grace, Braulio shows the traditional attitude of all theologians, and, for that matter, all Christians. In most of his Letters he ends with a plea for prayers and promises prayers. In writing to the monk Fructuosus he is quick to solicit the prayers of the monastic community.⁵³ Of special interest is the passage in Letter 20, where he shows his belief in the efficacy of the prayers of the living for the repose of the souls of the dead, particularly by a memento in the Mass.⁵⁴ In the *Vita* we find Emilian, when tempted by the devil, "pressing Jesus with prayers."⁵⁵

Nowhere in his writings does Braulio give us a formal creed, although such formulae are common in the Visigothic Church.⁵⁶ The *Confessio judaeorum* can not be claimed definitely for him.⁵⁷ Besides the passage mentioned above concerning the Eucharist, the following points are culled here and there from his writings. On the catholicity of the Church, he is explicit:⁵⁸

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 220, 224-226.

⁵³ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 699 A: Hoc denique superest, ut digneris orare pro me cum tuis comperegrinis pauperibusve spiritu, . . .

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 667 B: Jam enim et nos nominis ejus memoriam in oblationem ad altarium Domini fecimus, et Christo omnipotenti animam ejus commendavimus.

⁵⁵ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 227: . . . Jesum precibus efflagitavit.

⁵⁶ E.g., that of the Sixth Council of Toledo, which Braulio attended. Cf. Mansi, X, 661-662.

⁵⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 130.

⁵⁸ Letter 17, *P.L.*, 80, 663 D: . . . quia quanquam Ecclesia Christi toto orbe terrarum diffusa in universitate catholica habeatur una, tamen cum rectoribus suis innititur atque praesulibus gubernatur, et divisa in privilegiis, et una habetur in compage credulitatis, . . .

For although the Church of Christ, spread throughout the world, is one in its catholic universality, since it depends on its rectors and is governed by its bishops, it is on the one hand divided as to its privileges and on the other united in the body of faith, . . .

The words "Christian" and "Catholic" are interchangeable in ordinary use.⁵⁹

The primacy of the pope is acknowledged unequivocally in Letter 14. Questioned by Fronimian on the liturgical office of Good Friday, he describes the customs in Saragossa, Seville, Toledo, Gerona, and, as if it were the final authority, Rome.⁶⁰ This recognition in liturgical matters may have been limited on the part of his master, Isidore,⁶¹ but when Braulio wrote to Pope Honorius, in the name of the Spanish bishops,⁶² only "with difficulty could they have expressed better the dogma of the Primacy, and of the infallible *magisterium* of the Roman Pontiff."⁶³ The fact that he calls the pope "*papa*,"⁶⁴ and seems to reserve this title for the pope only,⁶⁵ is not sufficient proof of recognition, since the title was not as yet exclusive in Spain.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Letter 36, Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 285: ...aut quare non ab isto unguine sacro tincti vocentur Christicolae...cur et iste, quasi manus episcopi, quamvis inutilis, quos chrismavit, non habeantur catholici,... Cf. also Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 689 B: ...non debemus inimicis Catholicae locum dare,...and 690 A: ...ad vera et firma convertamur, quae nulli prorsus Christiano et recte catholico ...

⁶⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 661 B: ...nec apud praestantissimae memoriae dominum meum Isidorum, denique nec Toleto quidem, vel Gerunda. Romae autem, ut aiunt, nullum eo die celebratur officium: ...

⁶¹ Cf. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 92.

⁶² Letter 21, Fita, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-33.

⁶³ Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, II, i, 148; cf. also F. Fita, "El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza," *La Ciudad de Dios*, VI (1871), 49.

⁶⁴ Cf. *infra*, n. 68; P. de Labriolle, "Papa," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi*, IV (Paris, 1928), 65-75.

⁶⁵ The only other instance in which he uses it is in referring to Pope Leo. Cf. Letter 22, *P.L.*, 670 D.

⁶⁶ It still applied to simple bishops. Cf. Magnin, *L'Église wisigothique au viie siècle*, I, 7, 8. Fructuosus, in Letter 43, salutes Braulio as "*papa beate*." Cf. *P.L.*, 80, 692 A.

Despite the fact that Honorius was a pope who could later be condemned formally by the Church for dogmatic negligence,⁶⁷ we find the Spanish Church addressing him thus:⁶⁸

To the very reverend Lord and Pope, Honorius, worthy to be honored for the merits of apostolic dignity, all the bishops throughout Spain.

You fulfill excellently, and in an entirely fitting manner, the charge of the see which God has confided to you, when, with holy solicitude for all the churches, enlightening them with the bright light of doctrine like a mirror, you provide worthy safeguards for the Church of Christ.

Throughout the Letter his primacy is stressed.⁶⁹ New titles are brought to the fore. He is "the most eminent of Prelates and most blessed Lord," "your eminent Apostleship," "your sanctimony," "most reverend of men and holiest of Fathers," "the most excellent of Bishops," and "the head of our ministry."⁷⁰ He is treated "with the veneration which we owe to the Apostolic See and to your sanctity and honor."⁷¹ May the Orient as well

⁶⁷ Magnin, *op. cit.*, I, 24: "Recall that in the conciliar definitions, which St. Leo II (682-683) sent to the Spanish bishops to be signed, promulgating thereby the decisions of the Sixth Ecumenical Council held at Constantinople 680-681, Honorius was formally condemned; St. Leo, in his letter to the Spanish bishops (*P.L.*, 96, 414) said: 'qui flammam haeretici dogmatis non ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit.'"

⁶⁸ Letter 21, Fita, *Suplementos al concilio nacional Toledano VI*, p. 27: Domino reverentissimo et apostolicae gloriae meritis honorando Papae Honorio, universi episcopi, per Hispaniam constituti.

Optime satis valdeque congrue cathedrae vestrae, a Deo vobis collatae, munus persolvitis, quum sancta sollicitudine omnium ecclesiarum, praenitente doctrinae lumine et in speculis constituti, Ecclesiae Christi digna tutamina providetis.

⁶⁹ Cf. Magnin, *op. cit.*, I, 8-9, 19-22.

⁷⁰ Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 28: ...praestantissime Praesulum et beatissime Domine; p. 30: Apostolatus vestri apex; p. 31: Sanctimonia vestra; Reverentissime virorum et Sanctissime Patrum; p. 32: ...praecipue et excellentissime Antistitum; p. 33: ...caput nostrae administrationis.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30: ...cum veneratione qua sedi apostolicae et tuae sanctitati honorique debemus, ...

as the Occident hear his voice: perhaps a reference to the Monothelite heresy, raging at the time, in which trouble Honorius did not fare so well.⁷² In one place Braulio calls the pope "*Romanus princeps.*"⁷³

This valuable Letter does more than recognize the primacy of the pope; "it expresses clearly, with as much precision as there is beauty of image and idea, the dogma of the infallible *magisterium* of the Roman Pontiff."⁷⁴ Speaking of detractors, Braulio says:⁷⁵

But because the mouth is stopped by God of them that speak wicked things (Ps. 62, 12), we, therefore, do not believe that the deceit of the serpent has left any trace on the rock of Peter (*in petra Petri*), which, as we know, has been founded on the stability of the Lord Jesus Christ. . . .

If Braulio could be said to have a favorite dogma, it would be necessary to designate as such his devotion to the Communion of Saints in the Mystical Body of Christ. He adds nothing to the theological content of the dogma, but seems to know its scriptural basis by heart,⁷⁶ and frequently refers to the comforting doctrine. In the long Letter 5, he devotes a great deal of space to biblical passages involving the dogma.⁷⁷ He is writing to St. Isidore and demanding that the *Etymologies* be sent to him. His argument is subtly polite and complimentary. God has favored some members of His Body with more grace

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 31: Utraque pars, Orientis scilicet et Occidentis, sentiat voce tua commonita, et divino praesidio tuo sibimet inesse sentiat adjutorium, et pravorum studeat demoliri perfidiam.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁷⁴ J. Pérez de Urbel, "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 448.

⁷⁵ Fita, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31: Sed quoniam destruit Deo os loquentium iniqua, ideo figmentum colubri non credimus fecisse vestigium in petra Petri, quam fundatam esse novimus stabilitate Domini Jesus Christi; . . .

⁷⁶ *E.g.*, I Cor. XII.

⁷⁷ Lindsay, Letter 4.

than others; Isidore is one of these. But graces and talents are given to a member for the benefit of all. Therefore, "Give, give, what you owe" to Braulio and the other lesser members of the Body. "The head cannot say to the feet: I have no need of you."⁷⁸ This passage does not mean, of course, that Braulio considered Isidore to be the head of the Mystical Body of Christ. In Letter 14 we find, ". . . we believe that we ourselves will rise from the dead, . . . the members thus undergoing what the head has already undergone."⁷⁹

When he is writing to the bishop of Valencia, he addresses him as Unanimus and makes two beautiful references to the doctrine: "But since you are my other soul, or, better, since your soul and mine are one in Christ. . ."⁸⁰ "And although the absence of the body does not separate those whom a mutual oneness-of-soul in Christ joins, since wherever we are we are one in Him who is everywhere, for we love Him only and in Him our neighbor."⁸¹ To express this Braulio did not employ one biblical phrase; it seems to be his own. Chindaswindth, in taking Eugene from him, is taking "part of my soul,"⁸² and he feels that Emilian also "is part of my soul."⁸³ Tajo is "worthy of being embraced with reverence in the members of

⁷⁸ Lindsay, *loc. cit.*, pages unnumbered. I Cor. XII, 21.

⁷⁹ P.L., 80, 662 A: ...nos credimus resurrecturos, ...hoc enim sequetur in membris quod praecessit in capite. Cf. also Letter 11, *ibid.*, 657 B: ...caput nostrum, quod est Christus ...

⁸⁰ Letter 23, P.L., 80, 672 D: Cum sis autem altera anima mea, imo sit in Christo *una anima tua et mea*, . . .

⁸¹ Letter 24, *ibid.*, 673 B: Et quanquam non dirimit absentia corporis quos nectit *unanimitas* in Domino parilis, quia ubicunque simus, in illo qui ubique est unum sumus, quia eum unum et in illo proximum diligimus; . . .

⁸² Letter 31, *ibid.*, 678 B: Nunc vero jussione gloriae vestrae aufertur pars animae meae, . . .

⁸³ Letter 25, *ibid.*, 674 B: ...partem animae meae te esse non dubito, . . .

Christ" ⁸⁴ and Fructuosus is "his most sweet son in the members of Christ." ⁸⁵

As we continue a study of the beliefs of Braulio, we find that he and his contemporaries expected the end of the world to be soon upon them. Fructuosus, in his eulogy of Braulio gives thanks to God, "that, with the end of the world now approaching, there exists such and so great a bishop as you." ⁸⁶ Braulio, in his answer, says, "I wish to be wholly and highly perfect, for such it behoves us to be at the end of the world, in order that the elect vessels of Christ may be prepared for the attack of the Antichrist." ⁸⁷

Influenced by Isidore, perhaps,⁸⁸ Braulio is not at all obsessed by the thought of hell. He mentions it but once, in a consolatory Letter to Nebridius, and there describes it as "a second death." The passage is a beautiful one: ⁸⁹

Wherefore, let our consolation be in Our Lord and Redeemer, since he conquered death by his death, in order that he, in whose power and will lie our life and death, may himself be our defense against

⁸⁴ Letter 42, *ibid.*, 690 C: ... in Christi membris venerabiliter amplectende.

⁸⁵ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 692 A: Domino merito eximio, et in Christi membris suavissimo filio,...

⁸⁶ Letter 43, *ibid.*, 691 A: ...quod mundi jam termino propinquante tantus talisque pontifex existis,.... Cf. G. Bardy, "Millénarisme," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X, ii (Paris, 1929), 1760-1763.

⁸⁷ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 C:totum inde perfectum, atque esse desidero summum, quia ita convenit finibus saeculorum, ut praeparentur ad certamen Antichristi vasa electa Christi.

⁸⁸ Cf. F. Lear, "St. Isidore and Medieval Science," *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, 23 (1936), 81: "Isidore seems to be free from the dark, unreasoning terrors and the hideous fear of hell that cast a dull veil of melancholy about the soul of Gregory of Tours."

⁸⁹ Letter 34, *P.L.*, 80, 679 D: Interea et nobis in Domino et Redemptore nostro, quia sua morte mortem devicit, consolatio, ut ille in cuius potestate et nutu mors et vita nostra consistit, ipse nobis a secundae mortis potestate sit defensio, qui solus valuit inferna penetrare, et poenas mortis damnare, et ad superos post diem tertium remeare. In hoc sperantes non deficit fide, quia misericordia sua circumdabit quorum spes in illo manet.

the power of a second death, he, who alone was able to penetrate hell, to conquer the pains of death, and on the third day to return to earth. Hoping thus, we do not falter in faith, because his mercy surrounds those who hope in him.

Even heaven is seldom mentioned, and passages like the following are rare:⁹⁰

Happy are those whose joy is God and whose rejoicing is in the blessedness of the future, whose sufferings and opprobrium are hidden with Christ and in the standard of his cross, as in an eternal triumph.

On the subject of relics, Braulio expresses his mind clearly and soundly. "In this matter we must not provide the enemies of the Church with an opportunity, lest, either by the poison of falsehood or by calumny, they might wish to seduce the chaste virgin of Christ."⁹¹ Speaking of the relics of the Passion, particularly of the Precious Blood, he says:⁹²

We ought not to forbid a more minute investigation, nor spurn the authority of the multitude who say that relics of this kind are to be found in the cathedral churches, although in the time of no bishop have they been found in my church.

Saragossa, however, the city of the "*Innumerabiles martyres*,"⁹³ was not lacking in other relics, nor was Braulio's cathedral church, as he himself tells us in Letter 9.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Letter 18, *ibid.*, 665 A: Felices quorum laetitia Deus et gaudium de beatitudine est futurorum, quorum cruciatus cum Christo et opprobria in crucis ejus vexillo, ut in aeterno recondantur triumpho.

⁹¹ Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 689 B: Sub hac tamen occasione non debemus inimicis Catholicae locum dare, ne aut veneno falsitatis, aut maledicti gratia velint virginem Christi castam corrumpere.

⁹² *Ibid.*, D: ...nec debemus praescribere intellectum melioris inquisitionis, neque auctoritati contraire multitudinis quae asserit hujusmodi reliquias inveniri in cathedralibus ecclesiis, quod tamen in ecclesia mea nullius invenitur tempore fuisse pontificis, ...

⁹³ Cf. *supra*, p. 15.

⁹⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 655 C: De reliquiis vero reverendorum apostolorum, quas a nobis flagitastis vobis debere mitti, fideliter narro, nullius martyrum me ita

Concerning the relics of the holy apostles, which you importune us to send to you, I am speaking the truth when I say that they are in such a condition, that I cannot tell the remains of one martyr from another. The lords, my predecessors, came to the conclusion that, since in one way or another, because of stealth, or because of coercion by the piety of many, they were being forced to give away or lose what relics they had, they should take the markers off all of them, lest they be distinguishable, and put them all under one key. Seventy in all, however, have been saved and are in use, among which, those which you seek, are not at all to be found.

In concluding a study of the theology of Braulio, it is of interest to note that his works show no devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, although the Fifth and Sixth Councils of Toledo in 636 and 638, in which he was a leading spirit, do.⁹⁵ It might be noticed that Fructuosus, writing to Braulio, gives the title of "King" to Christ.⁹⁶

Up to this point Braulio's contribution to theological thought has been considered. A few words must be devoted to his attitude towards heresy. He was schooled by Isidore,⁹⁷ who had spent his early years in an apostolate against Arianism,⁹⁸ and who believed in education, in order that one might not be deceived by heresy.⁹⁹ In 619 the Second Council of Seville was

habere, ut quae cuius sint possim scire. Praecessorum et dominorum meorum sententia fuit, ut quia passim, aut furtim, aut etiam inviti ipsi et coacti multorum charitate ex his quae habebant aut dare, aut carere cogebantur, cunctorum notitiae ne ullius pateret indicium tituli tollerentur, et sub uno conclavi mitterentur. Reservatae sunt tamen admodum septuaginta, quae in usu habentur, inter quas eae quas quaeritiis minime reperiuntur.

⁹⁵ Mansi, X, 657, 663.

⁹⁶ Letter 43, *P.L.*, 80, 690 D: Ob hoc indesinenter Regi et conditori nostro Domino referimus laudes, . . .

⁹⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 24.

⁹⁸ Cf. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 29.

⁹⁹ *Synonyma*, II, 65 (*P.L.*, 83, 860): Per imperitiam . . . indoctus enim facile decipitur.—On heresies and superstitions in Spain cf. S. McKenna, *Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain up to the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom*, Washington, 1938.

held in the presence of Isidore.¹⁰⁰ Quite possibly Braulio was present, shortly before his return to Saragossa,¹⁰¹ for he describes, as one who might have been there, the arraignment, conviction, and, possibly, conversion,¹⁰² of a Syrian bishop, named Gregory, who had been accused, as a member of the sect of the *Acephali*, of being a Eutychian heretic.¹⁰³ The passage is found in Braulio's *Eulogy of Isidore*:¹⁰⁴

With what a flow of eloquence, and with what darts from the Sacred Scriptures and from the testimony of the Fathers, he transpierced the heresy of the *Acephali*, the synodal acts of the council of Seville, held in his presence, show us. In this council he upheld the truth against bishop Gregory, who was infected with this heresy.

After his return to Saragossa Braulio continues his interest in the crusadings of his former teacher. In the year 625,¹⁰⁵ he wrote to Isidore and asked him for the acts of a council, held probably the year before, a council which Séjourné would call "the Third Council of Seville."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ For treatment and bibliography see J. Madoz, "El florilegio patristico del II Concilio de Sevilla," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 177-220, esp. 181. Also Mansi, X, 555-572, esp. canons 12, 13.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 27.

¹⁰² He was actually converted. Cf. *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana*, *M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XI, 340; Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁰³ Called "heresy of the *Acephali*," cf. Braulio (next note) and the *Continuatio...*, *loc. cit.* Leclercq (*L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 300) calls him a Eutychian. Séjourné (*op. cit.*, pp. 30, 97) accuses him of Monophysite tendencies. Cf. S. Vailhé, "Acéphales," *D.H.G.E.*, I (Paris, 1910), 282-288.

¹⁰⁴ The *Praenotatio* (cf. *infra*, p. 211), *P.L.*, 81, 17 A: Quo vero flumine eloquentiae, et quot jaculis divinarum Scripturarum seu Patrum testimonii Acephalitarum haeresin confoderit, synodalia gesta coram eo Hispali acta declarant. In qua contra Gregorium praefatae haeresis antistitem eam asseruit veritatem.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 31.—Letter 3: Gesta etiam synodi, in qua Sintharius examinis vestri igni etsi non purificatus invenitur, tamen decoctus, quaeso ut vestro instinctu a filio vestro domino rege nobis dirigantur cito. Nam et nostra eius sic flagitavit gloriam suggestio, quia multum in concilio pro investiganda opus est veritate.

I ask that you request the king to send me soon, the acts of the synod in which Sintharius passed through the fire of your examination, if not to be purified thereby, melted at least. We have already asked the king for them, because we have great need of them in order to seek out the truth in the council.

Séjourné gives us reasons for believing that Sintharius was an Arian bishop.¹⁰⁷

In Braulio's later years the Arian heresy apparently no longer existed in Spain. Certainly his writings indicate this. Perhaps beliefs and rivalries were kept under cover, as Leclercq suggests,¹⁰⁸ but it is unlikely. When Pope Honorius condemned the laxity of the Spanish bishops toward the *perfidii* in 638, he was talking about the relapsed Jews.¹⁰⁹

Priscillianism, however, was still alive as Braulio informs us in a valuable passage. In writing to Fructuosus and his monks in Galicia, he warns them against this heresy.¹¹⁰

In your section of the country, be on your guard, even at this late date, against the poisonous dogma of Priscillian, which we know infected Dictinus, and many others, including the saintly Orosius, although he was set aright by St. Augustine later. For to such an extent did he distort the Sacred Scriptures by his perverse zeal that even to this day we find many codices depraved by the taint of this corruption.

¹⁰⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 14. Some proof for its continued existence is given by T. Melicher, *Der Kampf zwischen Gesetzes- und Gewohnheitsrecht im Westgotenreiche*, Weimar, 1930, p. 198.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 132.

¹¹⁰ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 693 D: *Cavete autem dudum illius patriae venenatum Priscilliani dogma, quo et Dictinum et multos alios, ipsum quoque sanctum Orosium invenimus fuisse infectum, quamvis postea a sancto Augustino correctum. Nam ita etiam perversitatis suae studio sacras depravavit Scripturas, ut adhuc ex ipsius corruptoris naevo depravatas inveniamus multas.*—For the latest and best study of the heresy see A. d'Alès, *Priscillien et l'Espagne chrétienne à la fin du iv^e siècle*. Dictinus is usually spelled Dictinius (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23-24). Cf. also McKenna, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-74.

This passage seems to be our only proof that Orosius was seriously affected by Priscillianism before he met St. Augustine.

There is no reference in Braulio's work to the Monothelite heresy, which at this time was raging in the East, unless we interpret his passage in the Letter to Honorius as such.¹¹¹ Of Adoptionism, which was shortly to spring from Spain, there is likewise no indication.¹¹²

The Jewish religion is a superstition to Braulio, and he hopes that the pope will prevent baptized Jews from returning to it.¹¹³ There are other superstitions, too, and he fears that good Christians may be accused of such, if their use of relics is not judicious. In Letter 42 he writes: ¹¹⁴ "In such a matter we should be careful, lest perhaps we come to the point where we are reputed to be superstitious . . ."

¹¹¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 102.

¹¹² Cf. M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A. D. 500-900*, p. 235: (Speaking of Adoptionism) "Spain, distinguished by the rigid orthodoxy of its Church since the Fourth Council of Toledo, was the last country from which a heresiarch might have been expected to spring. It is significant, nevertheless, that throughout the seventh century Christological questions had occupied a foremost place in the deliberations of successive Councils, a sufficient proof that guidance for the clergy on the one hand, and on the other the refutation of possible schismatics, were felt to be urgently necessary. Furthermore, the Spanish (Mozarabic) liturgy contained some phraseology which might easily lead to unorthodox beliefs regarding the relation of the Second to the First Person of the Trinity, in other words to Adoptionism. In the Acts of the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) we find a long definition of orthodox Trinitarian belief (Mansi, X, 661-662)."

¹¹³ Letter 21, Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 31: Nam et ad nos perlatum est . . . oraculis venerabilis Romani principis permissum esse iudeis baptizatis reverti ad superstitionem suae religionis; quod quam falsum sit Sanctimonia vestra melius novit.

¹¹⁴ P.L., 80, 688 D: Cauti tamen in hac inquisitione esse debemus, . . . ne forte eo usque progrediamur, ut superstitioni reputemur, sicut hi qui de abortivis quaerunt feticibus, quae utique consistunt ex corpore utriusque sexus, quid de menstruo possunt sanguine atque impuro virili sentiri humore, quem in omni pene vita necesse est etiam naturaliter egeri, in quibus superflue erunt superstitioni.—Cf. also McKenna, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-146.

In the history of pure philosophy, as distinct from political philosophy, Braulio occupies no place.¹¹⁵ His definition of human nature is interesting: "I define nature exactly as that which constitutes the body of man integral and sound."¹¹⁶ The origin of truth is described thus:¹¹⁷

What I said is not mine alone; for truth is common to all, and because of this, if what I have said is worthy, it is a gift of God; concerning which gift, common to us all, you may rightly presume more, if what I say is the truth, it is rather yours than mine, because you love truth more than I; and since every good gift is from above (James I, 17), it is therefore more yours, because you are of Him who is above. But if in the things I have said, there is aught displeasing to reason, it is mine and not God's, and in the same way when we speak truths, they are God's and not ours. Therefore, they are more his, who is more His than his own, and when you find in me what is His, you find your own, and in me you possess the things of Him to Whom belong those things which you possess.

In another Letter we find him philosophizing on the weakness of the will in the language of St. Paul: ¹¹⁸ "Wherefore discord is harmony, and harmony discord; and what we, borne down by

¹¹⁵ He is hardly mentioned in Bonilla y San Martín, *Historia de la filosofía española*, I (Madrid, 1908), 255.

¹¹⁶ Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 688 C: Naturam duntaxat dixi, secundum quam constat integrum sanumque hominis corpus.

¹¹⁷ Letter 22, *ibid.*, 671 C: ...nam non est meum solum quod dixi; veritas enim communis est omnium, ac per hoc si quid dignum dixi, donum Dei est; de quo tu merito plus praesumis, in quo in commune sumus omnes, et si quid per me veritas loquitur, potius tuum est quam meum, quia tu potius diligis veritatem quam ego; et quia omne datum bonum desursum est, ideo magis tuum est, quia tu illius es qui sursum est; si autem est in his dictis quod displiceat rationi, meum est non Dei, ac sic cum vera dicimus, Dei sunt, non nostra: et ideo plus ejus sunt qui plus ejus est quam suus, et cum in me invenis quod ejus est, tuum invenis, et in me illius possides cuius sunt illa quae possides.

¹¹⁸ Letter 27, *ibid.*, 675 C: Quapropter discordia concors, et concordia discors est; ac sic, miseria dominante, quae volumus non facimus, ut quae nolumus faciamus (Rom. 7: 15, 19).

miseries, wish, we cannot do, and what we do not wish, we do." He speaks thus of the fallaciousness of human judgment:¹¹⁹

It often happens that human judgment is faulty, and the good is judged to be evil, and the evil good. Woe to those who call good evil, and evil good (*Isaias 5, 20*); if one is deceived by love, or because of their own goodness people esteem an evil man good . . . (lacuna)

But rather, one should beware those to whom vices are more pleasing than virtues, and virtues more displeasing than vices. And due to this perverse rule, they judge an evil man to be good, or a good man to be evil. Who, however, says a certain man is good, whom he thinks to be just and does not know is unjust, such a one errs, not in the doctrine of good and evil, but in the hidden things of human morals.

One single aphorism in Letter 42 may be noted.¹²⁰ "To be good with the good is not highly laudable, but to be good with the bad is."

LITURGY

To the student of Spanish liturgy of the seventh century the nomenclature employed is confusing. Garcia Villada distinguishes three periods. That which was composed by Isidore he calls Isidorian; that which came out of Toledo later, Toledan, and that, still later, in use among the Christian subjects of the

¹¹⁹ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 692 B: Sed plerumque fit ut fallatur aestimatio humana, et malus bonus, et bonus aestimetur malus. Vae his qui dicunt quod bonum est malum, et quod malum est bonum; si aut amore fallitur, aut certe hominem malum ex bonitate sua aestiment bonum....

Sed potius illis cavenda est quibus aut virtutibus placent, aut certe virtutes pro vitiis displicant. Et ex hujus perversitatis regula, aut malum hominem bonum, aut bonum aestimant malum. Qui vero ipsum hominem dicit bonum quem putat justum nescitque injustum, non in doctrina rerum bonarum et malarum, sed in occultis humanorum fallitur morum.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 687 C: Neque enim valde laudabile est bonum cum bonis, sed bonum esse cum malis.

Moors, Mozarabic.¹²¹ Liturgy of the period prior to the invasion of the Moors is often called Gothic, or Visigothic,¹²² and at times Hispano-gothic.¹²³ It has become more and more common among scholars to call this whole movement towards a national Spanish liturgy by the name of its final development, "Mozarabic Liturgy," and so we shall speak of it.¹²⁴ This liturgy was composed during the sixth and seventh centuries,¹²⁵ taking on at that time its principal characteristics;¹²⁶ it was eclipsed from the eleventh century on, when the papacy and the Cluniac reform introduced the Roman liturgy proper.¹²⁷

Braulio was probably prepared to play a leading rôle in the development of this liturgy. The two teachers who had the greatest influence on his formation were the two authorities of the day on this subject.¹²⁸ Isidore's contribution to the field has long been recognized.¹²⁹ Bishop John of Saragossa, Braulio's brother and predecessor, has not received the same attention, because his works are lost. Let us recall that Ildefonse praised John as one who "composed elegantly both the words and music of ecclesiastical offices." His only other literary accomplishment

¹²¹ *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 29.—For an extensive bibliography see *ibid.*, pp. 263-265; F. Cabrol, "Mozarabe," *D.A.C.L.*, XII, 489-491.

¹²² M. Férotin, *Liber ordinum* . . . , p. xi; P. Séjourné, "Saint Isidore de Séville et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 221.

¹²³ H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 328.

¹²⁴ Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, I, ii, 202; Cabrol, *op. cit.*, col. 393.

¹²⁵ Férotin, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁶ Cabrol, *loc. cit.*; Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

¹²⁷ Férotin, *loc. cit.*—"Of Visigothic liturgy . . . we have published to-day the Breviary (Lorenzana, Rome, 1775), the Missal (Arévalo, Rome, 1804), the Orational (Bianchini, 1741), the Lectionary of *Liber Comicus* (Morin, Paris, 1893), the *Liber ordinum* (Férotin, Paris, 1904), and the *Liber mozárabicus sacramentorum* (Férotin, Paris, 1912). All but the last two should be reëdited." Garcia Villada, "La cultura literaria del clero visigodo," *Estudios eclesiásticos*, III (1924), 368.

¹²⁸ Cf. *supra*, pp. 22, 25.

¹²⁹ Cf. Séjourné, *loc. cit.*

was to write authoritatively on compute, or paschal chronology,¹³⁰ another important liturgical matter.¹³¹

Braulio's contribution to Mozarabic liturgy is twofold. There is first what he tells us of the subject incidentally in his writings and secondly his own additions to the liturgy of the day. Both are slighter than we should expect.

Nevertheless, if we are to judge by the scanty literary remains of the period, Braulio must be considered the chief liturgical authority of his day, after the death of Isidore. Letters 14, 22, 35, and 36 deal with problems in liturgy presented to him by correspondents. We found him in Letter 14 listing his liturgical authorities, apparently in this order of importance: Rome, Seville (Isidore), Toledo, and Gerona.¹³² His contribution to our knowledge of the liturgy, as employed in the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Orders, which contribution is found principally in Letters 35 and 36, we have already discussed.¹³³

In Letter 14 Braulio answers the query of his brother Fronimian on whether the customary *Gloria* or a simple *Amen* is the proper response to the lessons read in the office of Good Friday. It is a technical liturgical question, and gives Braulio an opportunity to display a scholarly solution.¹³⁴ He decides in favor of

¹³⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 22.

¹³¹ *De viris illustribus*, cap. VI (*P.L.*, 96, 201): In ecclesiasticis officiis quaedam eleganter et sono et oratione compositum. Annotavit inter haec inquirendae paschalis solemnitatis tam subtile atque utile argumentum, ut lectori et brevitas contracta et veritas placeat patefacta.

¹³² For text see note 134; for interpretation see *supra*, p. 13.

¹³³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 88-94.

¹³⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 661 B: Consulis enim, utrum sexta feria Paschae per lectiones singulas *Amen* responderi debeat, vel consueto modo decantari *Gloria*, quod neque apud nos fit, neque ubicunque fieri vidimus, nec apud praestantissimae memoriae dominum meum Isidorum, denique nec Toleto quidem, vel Gerunda. Romae autem, ut aiunt, nullum eo die celebratur officium: credo equidem quod non alia causa, nisi ut passionis Domini semper innovetur memoria, et tristitia vera animae in corpore ejus ipsius temporis significatione monstretur; aut...

Amen, gives his authorities, and then gives what he believes to be the reasons for the preferred custom of substituting *Amen* on that day, reasons which may be summed up as the desire of the Church to avoid the joyful response on such a day of sorrow. Because Braulio, in the same passage, remarks that Rome celebrates no office on that day, or so he has been told, and yet does not counsel the same procedure, Séjourné believes that Roman custom was being disregarded.¹³⁵ It is one of the cases he cites to show that Braulio and his teacher Isidore, together with the liturgical acts of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), which they both signed, disregarded Roman custom. This independence is found again in Braulio's indifference, recognized by Séjourné,¹³⁶ towards the anathemas attached to the liturgical ordinances of the same council,¹³⁷ an indifference which is proved by the very Letter we are discussing. In the passage which continues Braulio's discussion of Fronimian's problem, we find his traditionalism giving away before eclecticism. Instead of insisting that Fronimian follow the custom of the country, or its leading churches, as the Fourth Council would have it, he says:¹³⁸

There I have given my opinion hurriedly, as it came to me, and as briefly as possible. It is for you to choose in the matter that which you judge to be preferable, and if you find therein anything that offends it is up to your judgment to correct or eliminate.

Braulio then proceeds to answer what seems to have been a

¹³⁵ *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 157. Cf. also pp. 159-160.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

¹³⁷ Cf. canons 1-18, esp. canon 2 (*Mansi*, X, 617): *Nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastica consuetudo, qui una fide continemur et regno.*

¹³⁸ The exact date of Letter 14 cannot be ascertained; it is after 636 (cf. *supra*, p. 72).—*P.L.*, 80, 661 D: *Ecce quae sensi, citatim, ut occurrit, quanta potui brevitate, suggesti. Vestrum est inde si quid melius probaveritis eligere, atque si qua offenderint, vestro judicio corrigere, aut amputare.*—Cf. also Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 35.

second question, one concerning the decorating of the altar and the liturgy to be followed on the evening of Holy Saturday.¹³⁹

Concerning the covering of the altar and the veils to be used, the custom of the Churches is this, that at nightfall the church is decorated, and the true light (Christ), arising from below, is received with pomp, because those virgins who kept their lamps trimmed awaited the advent of the spouse in the clarity of his resurrection; thus the feast is celebrated during the night, until midnight, at which hour we believe that we ourselves will rise from the dead, and that the Lord will judge the living and the dead; the members will undergo what the head has already undergone.

From the *De officiis ecclesiasticis* (c. 615) of St. Isidore we learn that no liturgical ceremony took place on Good Friday, nor on Holy Saturday up to nightfall.¹⁴⁰ The Fourth Council of Toledo (633), with Isidore presiding introduced ceremonies, but none that Braulio could be referring to here.¹⁴¹ He is writing of the long ceremony which took place from nightfall to midnight of Holy Saturday.¹⁴² During that vigil of Easter the paschal candle was blessed and Baptism and Confirmation were solemnly conferred.¹⁴³ Séjourné believes that in the blessing of the candle the simple benediction, similar to that of the Gelasian Missal, gave way to a praeconium similar to those of Ennodius; "these abuses of diaconal rhetoric" prolonged the ceremony.¹⁴⁴ Given

¹³⁹ Continuation of *P.L.*, 80, 661 D: De vestiendo autem altari, seu velamittenda hoc usus habet Ecclesiarum, ut jam declinante in vesperam die ornetur ecclesia, et lumen verum ab inferis resurgens cum apparatu suscipiatur, quia et illae virgines quae lampades suas coaptaverunt, in resurrectionis claritate sponsi praestolarunt adventum; unde ipsa nocte eo usque celebrantur festa, quoadusque nox transeat media, qua hora et nos credimus resurrecturos, et Dominum vivos et mortuos judicaturum; hoc enim sequetur in membris quod praecessit in capite.

¹⁴⁰ I, 30, 31 (*P.L.*, 83, 764-766). Cf. also Séjourné, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 239.

¹⁴¹ Séjourné, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴² *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, II, 21-27 (*P.L.*, 83, 814-826).

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* and Séjourné, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 244.

¹⁴⁴ *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 162.

the liturgical spirit of the times, this is probable, but the other ceremonies alone could account for the duration.

In Letter 22 we find Braulio handling a liturgical problem in a strictly traditional manner.¹⁴⁵ In indicating to Bishop Eutropius the date on which Easter was to be celebrated,¹⁴⁶ probably in the next year,¹⁴⁷ he shows dependence on traditional authorities. He assures him that the date is April 8, the twenty-first day of the moon,¹⁴⁸ seven days after the paschal term. The year was accordingly 641. He gives as authorities Theophilus, Cyril, Dionysius, Proterius, Paschasinus, "many others whom it would take too long to mention," and finally Isidore.¹⁴⁹ Eutropius had consulted a paschal table which gave April 1 as the date. The codex containing that table must be corrupt, writes Braulio, for that is the date of the Jewish Passover, and Easter must never coincide with that feast, as the Council of Nice ruled. Easter must follow the Passover, because the New Testament follows the Old.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 670-671.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 670 D: De festo autem Paschali, quod inquirere ab humilitate nostra jussisti, noverit sanctitas vestra hoc esse rectum ut sexto Idus Apriles, luna vicesima prima, Pascha anno isto celebretur.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 67.

¹⁴⁸ It had to fall between the fourteenth and twenty-first days. Cf. Isidore, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, I, 32, 5 (*P.L.*, 83, 767 C). Notice that Braulio does not copy from Isidore in answering the question.

¹⁴⁹ *P.L.*, 80, 670 D: Sic enim antiqui majores nostri praescriperunt, id est, ad Theodosium imperatorem Theophilus, sic successor ejus Cyrilus, sic Dionysius, sic ad papam Leonem Proterius, neconon et Paschasinus, et reliqui, quorum longum est facere mentionem; sed et nostri temporis vir insignis Hispalensis Isidorus: nec credo eos in negotio tam magno ac necessario praetermissa diligentia et labore potuisse delinqueret.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 671 A: In laterculo autem, quem dominus inspexisti, sicut vestra sanctitas scribit, forte mendosi Codicis aut librarii error est, et ideo non ut debuit, sed ut contigit, praescriptum habet. Nam in Kalendis Aprilis hoc anno non Christianorum, sed Pascha occurrit Judaeorum, ex Veteri non ex Novo Testamento. Sed quoniam oportet ut illorum praecedat et sic nostra sequatur, quia prius Vetus, postea Novum exstitit

There are two minor notices in the writings of Braulio which add to our knowledge of the liturgy of the period. In the *Liber ordinum* of the Mozarabic liturgy, we find a *Benedictio post mixtionem salis et aque*.¹⁵¹ That such a liturgical custom was used even in those days for exorcisms we know solely from the testimony of Braulio. In his *Life of St. Emilian* he relates how the saint was called to eject a demon from the home of the senator Honorius. He proceeded in this wise: "On the third day, the vow of the prescribed fast having been fulfilled, he exorcized some salt, mixed it with water according to ecclesiastical custom, and began to sprinkle the house itself."¹⁵²

Braulio's Letter 18 is one of the rare sources we possess of proof that in Mozarabic liturgy the superior of a monastery for women was called *abbatissa*.¹⁵³

It is customary when giving the names of those who composed the Mozarabic liturgy and melodies to include Braulio.¹⁵⁴ There is warrant for such acknowledgment. To begin with, it may be said that all bishops of his time were composing masses.¹⁵⁵ Then there is the testimony of Ildefonse who praised Braulio as "famous for his ability in composing melodies."¹⁵⁶ Indeed,

Testamentum; ... ideo cum illis simul celebrare non possumus, prohibente etiam Nicaeno concilio, quod in septimo libro ecclesiastico refertur historiae.

¹⁵¹ Edited by Férotin. Cf. col. 14-15, esp. 15, n. 1.

¹⁵² *Vita S. Aemiliani*, ed. Minguela, *op. cit.*, p. 232: Tertio die expleto voto indicti jejunii salem exorcizat, et aquae commiscet more Ecclesiastico, ac domum ipsam aspergere coepit.

¹⁵³ He is writing to his sister. *P.L.*, 80, 664 B: Dominae et in Christo filiae Pomponiae abbatissae, Braulio ... Cf. Férotin, *op. cit.*, col. 66, n. 2. The *Regula communis* of St. Fructuosus is the only other case listed (*P.L.*, 87, 1124 A).

¹⁵⁴ Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, I, ii, 202; II, ii, 79; Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 328, 329.

¹⁵⁵ Séjourné, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 232.

¹⁵⁶ *De viris illustribus*, chap. 12 (*P.L.*, 96, 203): Clarus iste habitus canoribus. (Not canonibus; cf. *infra*, p. 237).

apart from the *Life of St. Emilian*, this is all that Ildefonse can find to say about his abilities.¹⁵⁷ Braulio's warm praise of Isidore's contribution to this field is another indication of his own interest.¹⁵⁸

As a matter of fact, however, very little can be designated as Braulio's original contribution to Mozarabic liturgy. It is here that we feel the force of Cabrol's words:¹⁵⁹

It is not necessary to imagine that these bishops invented every thing; all they did was compose formulas, benedictions or *illations*, or other prayers. . . . The liturgical setting already existed for the mass, the office, and other liturgical functions.

Perhaps, if the suggestion of Leclercq is followed,¹⁶⁰ we may some day claim a greater contribution for Braulio by comparing the rime and rhythm of his known writings with that in the above mentioned formulas and prayers.

As far as we can at present ascertain, the only original contribution of Braulio to liturgy are his *Life of St. Emilian*, and the *Hymn* in honor of the same saint. He tells us explicitly that he wrote the *Life* "to be read in the mass" of the saint,¹⁶¹ a mass which he requested his archdeacon Eugene to compose.¹⁶² Lauds or the gradual, which in the Roman rite are read after the Epistle, in the Mozarabic mass were read after the Gospel.¹⁶³ Lauds finished, a homily was pronounced on some occasions to

¹⁵⁷ For criticism of Ildefonse in this regard, see the words of Dzialowski, *supra*, p. 8, n. 26.

¹⁵⁸ *Praenotatio*, *P.L.*, 81, 16: . . . tu sacrorum jura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam publicamque disciplinam . . . aperuisti.

¹⁵⁹ "Mozarabe," *D.A.C.L.*, XII, 393.

¹⁶⁰ *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 328, 329.

¹⁶¹ Prefatory Letter to Fronimian, Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 214: Quocirea dictavi, . . . libellum de ejusdem sancti vitam brevem conscripsi, ut possit in Missae ejus celebritate quamtocius legi.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 215: De eadem quoque solemnitate ut Missam recitaretur communis, injunxi dilecto filio meo Eugenio Diacono, . . .

¹⁶³ Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, I, 13 (*P.L.*, 83, 750).

explain the feast of the day.¹⁶⁴ For this purpose he wrote the *Life*. It was in his mind to write a homily, too, but he decided that "no greater exhortation could be made, than the narration of his virtues;" besides it would lengthen the mass unbearably.¹⁶⁵ His *Hymn* he also wrote for the feast,¹⁶⁶ and so it is found in the *Breviarium gothicum*.¹⁶⁷

Some of the works attributed to Braulio, notably the *Acta de martyribus Caesaraugstanis*, were certainly written for the liturgy, but Braulio has not been proved to be the author of them.¹⁶⁸ And Ballesteros y Beretta mentions "hymns still sung by the church are attributed to him;"¹⁶⁹ he does not indicate where they are to be found.

THE BIBLE

Braulio's knowledge of the Bible can only be compared to that of the Fathers in the golden age of patristic theology. Direct quotations, paraphrases, and echoes of the Sacred Scriptures are the very stuff of Braulio's writings. In twenty-one Letters and the *Vita* a total of one hundred and forty-four phrases are easily traceable to this book of the ages; only a minute linguistic study of his works will reveal all the biblical echoes therein. He had been inspired, undoubtedly, in his early years to a mastery of the Book by his teacher, Isidore, and perhaps helped the latter in his works on biblical studies.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 52.

¹⁶⁵ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 215: Sermonem autem de eodem die superfluum dictare putavi, cum nulla major mihi esse videatur exhortatio, quam virtutum ejus narratio, et tantam horam occupet, ut si hoc adlectum fuerit, audientium animos oneret.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: Hymnum quoque de festivitate ipsius sancti, ut jussisti, Jambico senario metro compositum transmisi.

¹⁶⁷ Sometimes called *Isidorianum breviarium*. *P.L.*, 86, 1242.—Full treatment of the *Life* and *Hymn* will be found in chapter ix.

¹⁶⁸ Works attributed to Braulio are treated *infra*, chapter x.

¹⁶⁹ *Historia de España*, I, 547.

¹⁷⁰ At least four of Isidore's writings deal with the Bible.

More than student lore, however, appears in his use of the Scriptures, and we feel that he was preaching what he practiced when he told his sister, the abbess Pomponia, to "solace your soul by meditation on the Sacred Scriptures."¹⁷¹ Perhaps it was a love of scholarship, perhaps it was a love of display, but it seems to be a deeper love, that makes him stand out as one possessing superior biblical knowledge in his correspondence with Isidore, Eugene, Tajo, and Fructuosus. It is quite noticeable that they have not the same facility of allusion and quotation. In his Letter to Pope Honorius there are twenty-one references to the Bible. We cannot compare this Letter with that of Honorius, for the latter is lost, but we do know that Honorius used one scriptural quotation in his letter, since Braulio points out in his own epistle to the pope that the source of the quotation was incorrectly given.¹⁷²

Naturally he is partial in his references to certain books of the Bible, yet it is surprising to find that in twenty-one Letters and the *Vita* he refers to thirty-nine of the seventy-two books in the biblical canon.¹⁷³ Books most often quoted are the Psalter, Matthew, Luke, John, and Paul to the Romans and First to the Corinthians. Books not mentioned at all are, of the Old Testament: Exodus, Leviticus, Josue, Judges, Ruth, First and Second Paralipomenon, First Esdras, Tobias, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, and none of the minor prophets save Osee and Jonas; of the New Testament: Mark, Colossians, Titus, Philemon, Second of Peter, Second and Third of John, and Jude.

An important question is: what edition of the Bible did Braulio

¹⁷¹ Letter 18, *P.L.*, 80, 665 B: Quapropter adhibe animae tuae solamen sanctarum Scripturarum meditatione.

¹⁷² Letter 21. Cf. *infra*, p. 132.

¹⁷³ Isidore gives us the biblical canon of the time on three occasions in his writings. He lists 72 books, Baruch, as usual being included in Jeremias. The point is treated thoroughly in S. Zarb, "S. Isidori cultus erga sacras litteras," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 94-103, 105.

use, the Vulgate or the old versions called the Itala? He used both. Isidore edited the Bible after the Vulgate, but he and Braulio, like Gregory of Tours and Bede, continued to use the older versions along with the Vulgate.¹⁷⁴ In those direct quotations in Braulio's works which offer grounds for comparison, we find him on twenty-eight occasions using the Vulgate texts, and on seventeen occasions using an Itala text. No cursory summary of the problem as to what Psalter was used by Braulio can be given here, since he and his contemporaries were using not only the Itala text, and Jerome's revision of the Itala which is now the Psalter as found in the Vulgate, but also another version of the Psalter, one used by no other Church; it was the Psalter that Jerome translated from the Hebrew.¹⁷⁵

There are many interesting references to the Bible in Braulio's writings. One passage, we have seen, indicates clearly that the Scriptures were considered to be inspired by the Holy Ghost.¹⁷⁶ The name Jesus appears once in his writings representing the name Josue, a common substitution in his day.¹⁷⁷ "The Apostle" in his Letters is always St. Paul.¹⁷⁸ The Old Testament in one case is the "*Vetus Instrumentum.*"¹⁷⁹ The distinction between the "books of the Hebrews" and the "books of the Samaritans" is still made.¹⁸⁰ The "books of the Hebrews"

¹⁷⁴ Zarb, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-116; P. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, pp. 25, 27, 43; M. Laistner, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, n. 4, 125, 162; W. Porter, "Reviews," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 35 (1934), 109.

¹⁷⁵ G. Morin, "Saint Isidore et le psautier mozarabe," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 159; Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 95.

¹⁷⁷ Letter 37, *P.L.*, 80, 684 D: ...qui et Moysi Jesum successorem, ... Cf. Zarb, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁷⁸ Letter 13, *P.L.*, *ibid.*, 660 A, and *passim*.

¹⁷⁹ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 B.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 694 C: Siquidem in Hebraeis, et in Samaritanorum libris ita scriptum reperi. Cf. Beer, "Samariter," Pauly Wissowa, II, 1, ii, 2109; F. Stummer, "Samaria," *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IX (Freiburg im B., 1937), 151-152.

carry more weight than the Septuagint.¹⁸¹ Many a biblical codex in his day was in a corrupt state due to Priscillianism.¹⁸² Lastly, true to himself, Braulio, despite a deep respect for Holy Writ, does not hesitate to adapt a biblical passage to his immediate need. In his scolding of Tajo in Letter 11 he writes, "*Modicae patientiae, quare turbaris:*" paraphrasing the well known passage in Matthew (XIV, 31) "*Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti?*"¹⁸³

Braulio had a deep respect for the Bible and made use of opportunities in his Letters to stress the advantages of a study of the Scriptures and the value of their testimony.¹⁸⁴ Reading such passages in his Letters and recognizing his intimate knowledge of the Book, we wonder why he never devoted a study of his own to the subject, and the appearance in an ancient manuscript of a work entitled "*Braulion. super psalterium*" prejudices one's better judgment in favor of its authenticity.¹⁸⁵

The only attempt at exegesis, however, which we can ascribe to Braulio with certainty is that found in his Letters. The reason why he would not undertake a separate work on the subject may be deduced from his remarks there. He seems to be either unable or unwilling to depart from the traditional works on exegesis. After answering three biblical questions of Fructuosus, by quoting at length from Augustine, Jerome, and Eucherius, he adds:¹⁸⁶ "Certainly, in the face of the authority of such a man (Jerome), I can take no other stand than that of following in his footsteps, and, with Christian humility, of not deviating from the paths of our predecessors." Twenty years

¹⁸¹ *P.L.*, 80, 695 A.

¹⁸² Cf. *supra*, p. 108.

¹⁸³ *P.L.*, 80, 657 A.

¹⁸⁴ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 C; Letter 42, *ibid.*, 689 C, D.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 252.

¹⁸⁶ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 697 C: Sane nec ego contra tanti viri auctoritatem aliud possum sentire, nisi ejus vestigia sequi, et humilitate Christiana a majorum nostrorum semitis non deviare.

earlier, when Jactatus asked him to write to him on sacred subjects, Braulio's answer was that a reading of the law of God and a study of the Fathers such as Jerome, Augustine, and Hilary would give him far more than he could.¹⁸⁷

The only Letter that deals primarily with exegesis is the one to Fructuosus, mentioned above. There Braulio answers the following questions proposed by the monk in Letter 43: (1) How did Mathusala, who lived fourteen years after the deluge, escape destruction without entering the ark? (2) How was Agar, expelled by Abraham, able to carry her grown son on her shoulders? (3) How was Solomon able to become a father at the age of twelve? There was nothing original in Braulio's answers. With an admirable honesty of scholarship he is careful to point out that the answers he gives are taken from Augustine, Jerome, and Eucherius. To praise him, then, as versed in the Greek and Hebrew scriptures because of these explanations is to neglect his own specific remarks that he is quoting, for instance, from the Fifteenth Book of *De civitate Dei*.¹⁸⁸ A contribution of his own is found towards the end of the Letter; a reading of it convinces us that it is just as well that he did not attempt to be original:¹⁸⁹

Still I should prefer that, if God grant what I have said above, our occupation (when we meet) should turn on the allegorical interpretation of questions and their mystical understanding, and on

¹⁸⁷ Letter 9, *ibid.*, 655 B.

¹⁸⁸ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 695-697. Pérez de Urbel ("Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 445) incorrectly believes that this Letter reveals a profound knowledge of "Hebraic truth" and the Greek text of the Bible.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 698 B: Mallem tamen ut si hoc quod praemisi tribuat Deus de allegorizandis quaestionibus et mystice intellegendis, et Veteris Instrumenti in Novi affirmatione exercitatio nostra esset, quam in historiae superficie inquisitio nostra constaret, ut vere abyssus abyssum in voce cataractarum tuarum invocaret, quia illud praecedit tempore, istud dignitate; hoc enim est pabulum animae Christianae; his enim anima pascitur quibus delectatur; nam ingenium tuum admirabile habeo, et sermonis tui supellectilem infinitam vehementer intueor.

the use of the Old Testament for the affirmation of the New, rather than that our investigation should consist in superficial historical interpretation, so that truly ‘deep might call on deep, at the noise of thy floodgates’ (Ps. 41, 8), because the one takes precedence in time, the other in dignity; for this is the food of the Christian soul; the soul feeds on those things in which it delights; now I hold your ability in admiration and gaze with awe on the infinite equipment of your vocabulary.

If he had written at length on exegesis, allegory would have been, of course, the soul of it.¹⁹⁰ His Letter to Jactatus demonstrates this in a very interesting passage, which is at the same time pleasantly allegorical and a little facetious:¹⁹¹

You have sent to us what is offered in the sacrament of the body of Christ; we send to you what prefigures the blood in the mystery of the same Lord, namely two meters of wine. We send also a meter of oil and a measure of oilves in accordance with the double precept of charity: that is to say, one by which the love of God is signified, and the other, love of neighbor. We have sent one measure of damson plums on the symbolism of which I am at a loss to speak, unless perchance it is that, at the birth of the Lord, the wealth of that city whence this kind of fruit comes is sent as an offering: this symbolizes the gold which the holy gospel mentions as the gift of the magi.

His striving for symbolism in the latter half of the passage is confusing to the interpreter.

¹⁹⁰ Isidore's exegetical work from this viewpoint is treated in F. Ogara, “Tipología bíblica, según S. Isidoro,” *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 135-150.

¹⁹¹ Letter 10, *P.L.*, 656 D: *Direxisti nobis quod in sacramento offertur corporis Christi; remisimus vobis quod in ejusdem Domini mysterio sanguinem praefigurat, vini metra videlicet duo: direximus et metrum olei, et modium olivae in gemino charitatis praecepto: aliud nimirum quo Dei, et aliud quo proximi dilectio signatur. Damascinae modium unum, de quo non invenio quod dicam, nisi forsitan id quod nato Domino virtus civitatis illius, unde hoc genus pomi ortum est, offerenda promittitur. Hoc est aurum quod a magis oblatum sanctum refert Evangelium.*

CHAPTER V

THE CANONIST

THE COUNCILS—THE JEWISH QUESTION—THE FORUM JUDICUM— POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

THE COUNCILS

THE *jurisprudentes* of Visigothic Spain were, with few exceptions, ecclesiastics; their field was civil as well as ecclesiastical law. This condition was due primarily to the dominating influence of the eighteen councils, which may be called national to distinguish them from the provincial councils, that took place in Spain between 589 and 701. The importance of these councils has been duly recognized by historians.¹ They have been called synods, mixed synods, provincial and national councils, universal councils, and the Cortes or national assembly of Visigothic Spain. The king convoked them and could revoke them.²

¹ E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, II, 672-673: "These frequent Spanish Councils gave imposing proof of the work of the Spanish Church"; B. de Gaiffier, "Bulletin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933), 413: "In little time the Spanish Church possessed a canonical legislation to be envied by the other churches of Christianity"; P. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 259: "In Spain the Church itself tried to bring back civilization: instead of ancient Germanic assemblies, the Councils of Toledo held sway... (Guizot, *Histoire générale*..., 86, 90), that is, an assembly of the Church which permitted the presence of some representatives of the State;" M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900*, p. 130: "The *Leges visigothorum*...was the direct outcome of the Church's synodal activity, and represents a fusion of the enactments of the Temporal Power with the canons of the ecclesiastical councils." Cf. also A. Ziegler, *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*, p. 37; for full treatment of the councils, *ibid.*, pp. 32 ff.—Only one of the eighteen councils was provincial according to E. Pérez Pujol, *Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda*, III, 287; for full treatment of the councils, *ibid.*, pp. 287 ff.

He, as well as delegates of the nobility, was usually present, and they signed the acts.³

Our task is to determine the influence that Braulio had in the councils of his time. Pérez de Urbel, reflecting the judgments of previous writers, says of him:⁴

It was Braulio, who, after the death of Isidore, inspired the councils; it was he who drew up the documents in the name of his colleagues in the episcopacy; it was he who designated the important measures to take for the conservation of peace. He was not a metropolitan, but everyone paid homage to his knowledge.

A provincial council was held in Saragossa in 592, too early a date to permit participation on the part of Braulio. There was no other council held in Saragossa, that we know of, during his lifetime. Tarragona was the metropolitan see of that part of Spain and any provincial council of Tarragona province was probably held there. Provincial councils were to be convoked once a year, according to Canon 3 of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633),⁵ but we have no record of participation in any of them on the part of Braulio. He perhaps had his first experience in conciliar work at the Second Council (provincial) of Seville in 619 during his sojourn with Isidore.⁶ He was in Saragossa at the time of the Third Council (provincial) of Seville (*c.* 624), if that council took place.⁷ The Third Council of Toledo (589) and the unnumbered Council of Toledo held in

² E. Magnin, *L'Église wisigothique au viie siècle*, I, 54; F. Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen*, VI, 2 ed., 370; L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'église*, II, 661.

³ Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 42.

⁴ J. Pérez de Urbel, "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 446-447.—Many writers on this phase of Braulio's activity have based their praise of him on a false reading of Ildefonse's notice in the *De viris illustribus*. They have read: *Clarus iste habitus canonibus*, instead of *canoribus*. Cf. *infra*, p. 237.

⁵ Mansi, X, 617.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 107. On Isidore as a canonist see Séjourné, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 44.

597 found him still a boy, but he might have attended the Provincial Council of Toledo held in 610, when he was about twenty-five years of age. He might have accompanied his father, Bishop Gregory of Osma, who signed the acts, supposing, of course, that Gregory was his father.⁸ There he might have met Isidore for the first time, since he also attended, although he did not belong to that province. The national councils which fell within the period of his adult life were the Fourth (633), Fifth (636), Sixth (638), and Seventh (646) of Toledo. He attended the first three as Bishop of Saragossa and so signed his name to the acts.⁹ As far as we can tell, he did not attend the last or Seventh Council, nor did he send any one as his proxy.¹⁰

Any praise of Braulio for his work in the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Councils of Toledo must remain very general. What contributions he made, what canons he wrote, what weight his word carried, what policies he approved, all are conjectural and based on evidence gleaned from other activities in his life. He did not preside at any one of the Councils. Isidore probably presided at the Fourth, Eugene I of Toledo at the Fifth, and Eugene II at the Sixth.¹¹ Our evidence for saying that Braulio was influential at these meetings is based on his close friendship with Isidore, the position he held in the esteem of his contemporaries as proved by his Letters, the fact that he wrote to Pope Honorius I in the name of the bishops gathered at the Sixth Council, and a few passages in a chronicle written shortly after 754.

⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 9.

⁹ Mansi, X, 643, 657, 671.

¹⁰ Sending a proxy was a common procedure. Cf. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 39. Proxies usually indicated the bishoprics that they were representing.

¹¹ It is impossible to say with certainty who presided at each council. The metropolitans present signed the acts first and the leading name has usually been considered the name of the one presiding. If, however, they signed according to episcopal age, we can not be certain that the consideration is justified. There was no official primate, although Leander and Isidore seemed to enjoy that position, and after them the metropolitans of Toledo.

The chronicle is the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana* by an unknown writer.¹² If, as some think,¹³ this chronicler was using a lost chronicle of Ildefonse, his observations must be accorded added weight. Referring to the Fourth Council, the chronicle reads:¹⁴ “At which holy synod there was amongst others Braulio, Bishop of Saragossa, whose literary style was afterwards greatly admired by Rome, the mother and mistress of cities, because of a letter he sent.” Referring to the Sixth, it reads:¹⁵ “At this synod Braulio, the illustrious Bishop of Saragossa, stood out above the others, and he fittingly filled Christian minds with holy doctrine; his works are still read by the Church.” In the thirteenth century, Rodrigo Ximenez de Rada combined these two statements, and made them describe Braulio’s activities at the Fifth Council.¹⁶ It seems unnecessary to suppose, with Pérez de Urbel,¹⁷ that the anonymous

¹² This chronicle is fairly reliable. It covers scantily the years 612-687, and more thoroughly the years 687-754. The author has been known under the names of Isidore Pacensis, Isidore of Beja, Isidore the Younger, the Anonymous of Toledo, and the Anonymous of Cordova. The chronicle has been known under the names of the *Epitoma (imperatorum?)*, *Isidori Pacensis chronicon*, and the *Chronicon Pacense*. The author, according to Mommsen, was a native of Toledo, sincere and unbiased. The latest and best edition is that of Mommsen, *M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XI, 340.

¹³ F. Fita, “El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza,” *La Ciudad de Dios*, IV (1870), Pérez de Urbel, “Braulio,” *D.H.G.E.*, X, 447.

¹⁴ Mommsen, *loc. cit.*: huic sancto sinodo inter ceteros Braulio Cesaraugustanus episcopus claruit, cuius eloquentiam Roma urbium mater et domina postmodum per epistolare alloquium satis mirata.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: ... huic sinodo Braulio Cesaraugustanus episcopus pre ceteris illustris excellit atque piam doctrinam Christianis mentibus decenter infudit: cuius et opuscula nunc usque Ecclesia re legit.

¹⁶ Apud Lorenzana, *Patrum Toletanorum opera*, III, 42-43. The passage is quoted in *P.L.*, 80, 640 D: Braulio Caesaraugustanus episcopus prae caeteris illustris effulsit, atque piam doctrinam Christianis mentibus decenter infudit: cuius et opuscula nunc usque Ecclesia veneratur. Hujus eloquentiam Roma, urbium mater et domina, per epistolare alloquium est mirata.

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

author used his sources maladroitly; that his first entry refers to the Sixth Council, because Braulio's Letter to Honorius, mentioned in the entry, was written as a sequel to that Council. The word "*postmodum*" in the passage indicates that the Letter was written at a later date. Pérez de Urbel believes that it was with the intention of correcting an error of date that Rodrigo applied the passage to the Fifth Council. Nicolas Antonio was probably more correct in supposing that Rodrigo was using a different enumeration and by the Fifth Council meant the Sixth.¹⁸

From the available evidence, therefore, we feel that there has been a tendency on the part of writers to put the activities of Braulio at the Fifth Council in too bright a light. There is no proof, for instance, that he drew up its canons, as Pérez de Urbel¹⁹ and G. van Hoof suggest.²⁰

For the Sixth Council, there is a little more reason for signaling his contribution. Antonio believes that the second entry of the anonymous chronicle is sufficient reason for claiming that the canons of this Council were "written by the pen" of Braulio.²¹ Pérez de Urbel is of the same opinion, but provides better, though not conclusive, reasons.²² Braulio wrote his Letter to Honorius after this council and in the name of the bishops there gathered. In the Letter he refers to the third canon of the council. "The relations," he writes, "between the canon and the Letter leave us supposing that the author of the synodal acts is the same as the author of the Letter, namely, St. Braulio." Even a thorough linguistic study of the two com-

¹⁸ *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, I, 374 (P.L., 80, 640 C).

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

²⁰ *AASS., Martii t. II*, 636.

²¹ *Loc. cit.* (P.L., 80, 641 A): *Nihil vero aliud infusione illa doctrinae significatum nobis existimo quam quod sextae hujus synodi canones Braulionis stylo sint formati.*

²² *Op. cit.*, 447, and esp. 448.

positions would probably not provide us with certainty in this opinion.

Another reason advanced by Pérez de Urbel has more strength. Along with Braulio's Letter to Pope Honorius went the acts of the Sixth Council and an interesting document called *Confessio iudeorum civitatis Toletanae*. This last was found in the valuable *Codex Samuel*, the Leon MS 22, which also contained our unique copy of Braulio's collected Letters.²³ Risco, the first editor of Braulio's Letters, although he knew of the *Confessio*, did not think of it as Braulio's, and hence, did not edit it.²⁴ In 1870 Fita, treating at length the relations between Honorius and the Visigothic Church, published, translated, and commented on this piece.²⁵ He decided that this confession of faith on the

²³ Cf. *infra*, p. 200.

²⁴ M. Risco, *Iglesia de Léon y monastérios antiquos y modernos de la misma ciudad*, Madrid, 1792, p. 84.

²⁵ F. Fita, "El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza," *La ciudad de Dios*, IV (1870), 188-204. The whole article is much longer and is found in sections in Volumes IV, V (1871), and VI (1871, not 1872, as in some authorities). For pages see "Bibliography," *infra*, p. 261. This important article on a phase of Braulio's life will be referred to often in subsequent pages, but the author regrets that he has been able to consult it only at second hand. The review does not seem to be available in the United States, Havana, Mexico City, Manila, Belgium, France, or England. Because of disturbed conditions it could not be procured from Spain. It is to be noticed that the review is not the later and more famous *La ciudad de Dios* (Madrid, 1881 ff.). Three parts of the original article, including Braulio's Letter to Honorius, and the *Confessio*, were reprinted in the review *La civilizacion* (Madrid, 1880). The same parts were then issued in book form by Fita: *Suplementos al concilio nacional Toledano VI*, Madrid, 1881. It is to this work that the author of the article "Braulio" in *Espasa* refers when he says that the article is printed separately in book form. The book is available in the United States only at The Hispanic Society of America, New York, N. Y. The *Confessio* occupies pages 43-49, and the Spanish translation pages 51-60. Reprints from, and comments on, the original article are found in: R. de Ureña y Smenjaud, *La legislación góticohispana*, pp. 571-575; Dahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 650-653; Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 192; J. Juster, "La condition légale des Juifs sous les rois visigoths," *Études d'histoire juridiques offertes à Paul Girard*, II, 281-282; Pérez Pujol,

part of Christianized Jews, "drawn up by a keen theologian,"²⁶ was the work of Braulio, because it appeared in the Leon manuscript and because of linguistic similarity with the writings of Braulio.²⁷ In all this Pérez de Urbel agrees.²⁸ They are more likely right than wrong, but the evidence is not conclusive. Fita edited the Letter to Honorius and this *Confessio*, but had at hand no definitive edition of any other work of Braulio. Moreover, there are many other pieces in the Leon manuscript which are not Braulio's. A linguistic study of the writings of Braulio might settle the problem.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

These three pieces, namely, Letter 21, which is the work of Braulio, Canon 3 of the Sixth Council and the *Confessio*, both of which are possibly Braulio's, brings us to a consideration of the Jewish problem, for the three items deal with it. Our study does not concern the problem as a whole, but only Braulio's attitude and influence on it.²⁹ Letter 21 to Honorius is the key.³⁰ The background of the Letter is as follows. In January of 638, at the call of King Chintila, about fifty bishops of Spain met in Toledo for the Sixth Council.³¹ A legate of Pope Honor-

op. cit., III, 414 ff.; I. Loeb, "Notes sur l'histoire et les antiquités juives en Espagne," *Revue des études juives*, II (1881), 137-138; Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*, p. 14.

²⁶ The words are from Pérez de Urbel, *op. cit.*, col. 449.

²⁷ Fita, *La ciudad de Dios*, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*

²⁹ Study of the problem in the past has been almost exhaustive. There is a noticeable agreement in the findings. Cf. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-196; Katz, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-16, 110-118, and *passim*; T. Melicher, *Der Kampf zwischen Gesetzes- und Gewohnheitsrecht im Westgotenreiche*, Weimar, 1930. Bibliography given just above on the *Confessio* is all pertinent to the problem.

³⁰ Fita, *Suplementos . . .*, pp. 27-33.

³¹ Hefelé-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, (III, 1, 279) gives fifty-two bishops; Séjourné (*op. cit.*, p. 104 n. 1) gives twenty-nine Hispano-roman bishops and nineteen Gothic.

ius arrived with a letter, now lost, which reproached the Spanish episcopate for its leniency towards the *perfidi*, calling the bishops "dumb dogs not able to bark" (*Isaias*, 56, 10);³² this much we gather from Braulio's Letter 21, which is written in answer to the pope and in the name of the bishops.³³ Early authors thought that the reprimand dealt with their negligence in convoking councils.³⁴ Some have thought that the *perfidi* referred to Arians.³⁵ Some believe the cause of the pope's letter is inexplicable, given the evidence.³⁶ But most modern authors are convinced that the *perfidi* were relapsed Jews, and Pérez de Urbel, the latest writer on the subject, goes so far as to say that the whole of Letter 21 "forms a sort of commentary on Canon 3 of the Council,"³⁷ which canon deals with the Jews.³⁸ The evidence from Letter 21 for this modern interpretation is very strong. Braulio remonstrates that the hierarchy has not been lax in dealing with the *perfidi*;³⁹ reports to the pope that rumors

³² Notice in the next note that Braulio corrects the pope who attributed this quotation to Ezechiel. Caspar (*op. cit.*, II, 653, n. 1) points out that Gregory II (*ob. 731*) was guilty of two similar mistakes.

³³ Cf. *supra*, p. 101 for salutation. Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 28: Nam jam totius Hispaniae atque Narbonensis Galliae episcopi in uno coadunati eramus collegio, quando, Turnino deportante diacono, vestrum nobis est allatum decretum, quo et robustiores pro fide, et alacriores in perfidorum essemus rescindenda pernicie. *Ibid.*, p. 29: ... praecipue tamen illud, non Ezechielis sed Isaiae, testimonium (quamquam prophetae omnes uno proloquantur Spiritu) "Canes muti non valentes latrare," ad nos, si Beatitudo vestra dignatur considerare, ut praemisimus, nullomodo pertinet.

³⁴ "As Gebhardt, Tejeda, and D. Vicente de la Fuente erroneously surmised, following a conjecture of Masdeu." Fita, *La ciudad de Dios*, VI (1871), 101, as cited by A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, I, 554.

³⁵ J. Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, II, 514, as cited by Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

³⁶ Magnin, *op. cit.*, I, 20; H. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, I, 1, 327; Caspar, *op. cit.*, II, 671.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, col. 447.

³⁸ Mansi, X, 663-664.

³⁹ The theme of the whole Letter.

have it Rome itself has been lenient with relapsed Jews;⁴⁰ makes a definite reference to Canon 3:⁴¹ and promises severer measures, although the bishops object to the pope's recommendation of some unnamed and severe punishments.⁴² Add to the evidence of this Letter, the fact that the acts of the Council, with Canon 3 the only one dealing definitely with *perfidi*, were sent along to the pope, as well as the *Confessio*, an enforced profession of faith for Jews;⁴³ the three documents justify us in drawing some conclusions on Braulio's attitude and influence in the Council, at least on the Jewish question.

One conclusion is that Braulio was apparently a leader in the persecution of the Jews at this time. Was his attitude a conviction, or the result of circumstances in January of 638? Here is the broader canvas, of which that council is a detail. The union of Church and State in Spain encouraged persecution of the Jews; the kings were more implacable than the bishops.⁴⁴ Braulio grew up with the severe measures of King Recared and the Third Council of Toledo (589) in force. King Sisebut (612-621) adopted harsher measures against them, to such an extent, that Isidore censured him. Braulio probably watched

⁴⁰ For text see *supra*, p. 109.

⁴¹ Cf. Fita, *Suplementos . . .*, p. 31, n. 4. He also alludes to Canon 57 of the Fourth Council, likewise anti-Jewish. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 28, n. 4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 33: In calcem hujus epistolae rati sumus aliiquid peculiari modo, ceu capiti nostrae administrationis manu porrigere, ut gravissimo examinis pondere, Apostolatus vestri elegantia pensit: utrum debeat quolibet facinore implicati, a nobis, sententia tam severa percelli, ut istos praevaricationis naevo maculatos vestra censuit Beatitudo damnari. Nam hoc nunquam et nusquam, aut majorum nostrorum gestis peractum, aut eloquii divinis in Novi Testamenti paginis reperimus insertum.—In 654 King Receswinth introduced punishment by fire for the Jews. Cf. Zeumer, *Leges Visigothorum*, XII, 2, 17 (*M.G.H.*, *Legum sectio I*, t. I, p. 425).

⁴³ This *Confessio* is generally called a placitum, which is defined: "Alii dicunt pactum esse quod volens quisque facit; placitum vero etiam nolens compellitur . . ." (*Etymologiae*, V, 24, 19). Cf. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 192; Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Isidore at work on his dogmatic treatise *Contra Judaeos* (614-615). Under King Swinthila (621-631) anti-Jewish legislation was not enforced. Pope Honorius apparently heard of this belatedly, due to the infrequent intercommunications of the time.⁴⁵ No general council was held under Sisibut or Swinthila. King Sisenand (631-636) and the hierarchy moved against the Jews in the Fourth Council (634). Isidore presided and Braulio was present. The Fifth Council (636) did not touch the Jewish question. Braulio was present; Isidore had just died. King Chintila (636-640) and the hierarchy set out in the Sixth Council (638) to eradicate the Jews.⁴⁶ Braulio played a leading part in the Council. The scolding (*objurgatio*)⁴⁷ of Pope Honorius had arrived. It is possible that his letter was largely responsible for the severity of king and council in Canon 3. Braulio, in answering the pope, boasts of the vigilance of Church and State in fighting the *perfidii*. King Tulga (640-641) may have been as fanatical as Chintila.⁴⁸ King Chindaswinth (641-649, *ob.* 652) has been called, with some exaggeration, a "protector of the Jews."⁴⁹ Braulio was on good terms with him, but it is unlikely that he could dictate to this strong-minded sovereign.⁵⁰ The Seventh Council (646) passed no anti-Jewish legislation. Braulio, for some unknown reason, was absent, possibly because Chindaswinth had just taken his archdeacon Eugene away from him.⁵¹ The king was also absent, though he convoked the council. The same Eugene II, now metropolitan of Toledo, and still the friend and disciple of Braulio, probably presided. King

⁴⁵ Cf. *infra*, p. 145.

⁴⁶ Canon 3. *Mansi*, X, 663.

⁴⁷ Braulio's own word. Cf. Fita, *Suplementos . . .*, p. 29.

⁴⁸ Cp. Katz, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴⁹ H. Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden*, V, (Leipzig, 1894), 142; "Die westgothische Gesetzgebung in Betreff der Juden," *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars*, "Fraenkelscher Stiftung," Berlin, 1858, p. 11.

⁵⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 81.

⁵¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 59.

Receswinth (649-672), helped to the throne by Braulio, was very bitter towards the Jews. The Eighth Council (653), with Eugene and Tajo, Braulio's pupils, playing important, if not dominant rôles, tempered his excess. Receswinth had his way by the promulgation of a new code of laws, the *Forum judicum*, a document which Braulio probably drafted in its literary form shortly before his death (651).⁵² If there were any measures in it to which he objected, he failed to note them in his correspondence with the king.

In all this, the bareness of detail leads to confusion. A safe conclusion would seem to be that Braulio was a power in the Sixth Council and a leader in anti-Jewish legislation. His zeal in the matter fluctuated with the changes in the kingship. No significance may be attached to the fact that the idolizing author of Braulio's fabulous life in the fourteenth century makes him almost a Jew-baiter.⁵³

THE FORUM JUDICUM

In the opinion of historians the greatest glory of the Visigothic kingdom was in the field of legislation, conciliar and civil. The civil law consisted in a Gothic code for the Goths, and a *Lex romana Visigothorum*, better known as the *Breviarium Alaricianum*, for the Hispano-romans; both of these were supplemented over the years by decisions of the kings. So bulky had the two codes become in time, and so united the two peoples, that in King Chindaswinth's reign (641-652) a movement was on foot to unify the laws. The work was accomplished under Receswinth, presented to the Eighth Council of Toledo (December, 653) for consideration, and promulgated in 654. It was the famous code known as *Liber judicorum*, or *Forum judicum*. Visigothic law has been criticized by some, but the

⁵² Cf. *infra*, p. 137.

⁵³ Most of the *Life* is given over to Braulio's scourging of the Jews. A reading of the chapter-heads as found in the *Subsidia Bollandiana* is sufficient proof. Cf. *supra*, p. 7.

general opinion is well summed up in a recent work by Ferdinand Lot:⁵⁴

One last obstacle (to the fusion of the two peoples) remained: the personality of laws. . . . In the middle of the seventh century the Visigothic kings—and they were the only ones in Europe to do so—conceived the design of imposing unity of legislation on the whole of their subjects. In 654 King Receswinth, furthering the plan of his father Chindaswinth, abolished the *Breviarium Alaricianum*, the Roman law. He put in its place a code, which was divided into twelve books containing 525 articles, the *Liber judiciorum* or *Forum judicum*. It is a compilation of decisions made by Visigothic kings from Euric to Receswinth himself. But these decisions are all imbued with the spirit of Roman law. The inspiration of the Church in them is felt profoundly. Hence the homiletic tone which the laws of Receswinth and his successors affect. . . . This tone displeased Montesquieu who, in *l'Esprit des lois* (I. 28, c. 1), wrote that the Visigothic laws were puerile, idiotically awkward, full of rhetoric, frivolous in substance, and bombastic in form. (Note 1, p. 183: The same severity is found in Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 2 ed., 493. See finally Alf. von Halban, *Das römische Recht in den germanisch. Staaten*. 1899.)

But let them compare these with the other laws promulgated by barbarian princes, particularly in Gaul (Burgundian law, Salian law, Ripuarian law) and the comparison will favor the Visigothic kings. Where else can one find anything comparable to the First Book (entitled: *de legislatore, de lege*), where an attempt is made to lay down general principles of legislation? Guizot (Note 2: *Histoire de la civilization en Europe*, p. 89) more justly estimates that the law of the Visigoths bears 'a character that is wise, systematic, and social.'

We desire to ascertain what was Braulio's part in this great work. Two points must be kept in mind. All students of the subject agree that ecclesiastical influence in this civil law was very great. Secondly, everyone admits that Braulio was the dominating ecclesiastical figure after the death of Isidore (636).

Chindaswinth (641-652), who had Braulio's pupil, Eugene II, at his elbow, is credited with being the greatest of these legalis-

⁵⁴ *Les invasions germaniques*, pp. 182-183.

tic kings. Whether Braulio or Eugene influenced him in the promulgation of his ninety-eight laws, many of them very humane, as in the case of the slaves and the poor, we can not say definitely, but it is likely.⁵⁵ Whether Receswinth and his father were encouraged to codify the laws into the *Forum judicum* by their friend Braulio, or whether Receswinth received much help in the codification, after asking for it, from the Eighth Council, the leading spirits of which were Braulio's two pupils Eugene and Tajo, again we can not say definitely, but may surmise that such happened.⁵⁶ Of this we may be almost certain: Braulio, at the request of Receswinth, edited, as it were, the manuscript of the *Forum judicum*, before it was presented to the Eighth Council.

Shortly after Receswinth ascended the throne to rule with his father (649), a move suggested by Braulio, he received the following Letter 38 from Braulio:⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Chindaswinth and legislation: Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 104; and the slaves: pp. 174, 176-178, 180; and the poor: p. 169. It is to be noticed that Braulio as a bishop must have enjoyed considerable jurisdiction in the civil courts and a supervision over civil magistrates. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 140, 143, 165. In drafting matrimonial legislation, Chindaswinth depended on some ecclesiastical influence, says Ziegler (p. 154); perhaps Braulio assisted him. The last canon of the Seventh Council (646) decreed that bishops in the vicinity of Toledo were to spend some time each month, with the king (Chindaswinth) and the metropolitan (Eugene) perhaps to act as an advisory board (p. 104). Braulio may have been included.

⁵⁶ Cf. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 186-188.

⁵⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 685 A: ... Mendositas etenim Codicis, quem ad emendandum accepi, omnes vires suas contra caligines meas armavit, et dum cupio easdem debellare, ipsa visio quae caecutiebat visa est in contrariam partem manus dare, et in detrimentum sui obscuritatem multiplicare. Tamen quantus ibi labor sit, quantaque operis instantia, quoties de emendatione ejus desperaverim, quotiesque aegritudini diversis obviantibus, cessaverim, et rursus intentione jussionis implendae ad opus intermissum redierim in ejus versuum additamenta, vel litterarum abolimenta, gloriae vestrae patebit; nam tantis obrutus est negligentiis scribarum, ut vix reperiatur sententia quae emendari non debeat, ac sic compendiosius fuerat denuo scribi quam possit scriptus emendari. Per jussionem autem serenitatis vestrae commoda regni vestri votis omnibus optamus agnoscere, . . .

. . . The deplorable state of the codex, which I have received for correction, has mustered all its forces against my clouded vision, and while I try to conquer them, the very vision which was becoming blind seemed to aid the enemy, and to multiply obscurity to its own detriment. It will be apparent to Your Glory, however, how much labor there is in it, how exacting it is, how many times I have despaired of correcting it, and how many times I have given it up due to various ailments, only to return again to the interrupted task with the intention of fulfilling your request, adding a line here, and deleting letters there; for it is so cluttered up with scribal negligences, that I hardly find a sentence which does not need correction, and hence it would have been quicker to rewrite the whole thing than to correct it. At the command of Your Serenity, however, we desire ardently to recognize the welfare of your kingdom with all our efforts. . . .

In Letter 39 Receswinth thanks him for his zeal in correcting the codex, praises his ability, and hopes that God will give him the strength and "internal light" to finish the task.⁵⁸ In Letter 40 Braulio writes to him again announcing progress in the work, perhaps its completion, and giving us this important information: "What is more, I have divided the codex into titles (*sub titulis misi*), as you commanded."⁵⁹ In Letter 41 Receswinth thanks Braulio and praises his humility.⁶⁰

The import of these letters went unnoticed for years by scholars. It was thought their value resided in the indication they gave us of the interest that a Visigothic king had in the preservation of knowledge through manuscripts. Receswinth was honored as a *litterateur*.⁶¹ Ureña y Semenjaud seems to have been the first scholar to realize that the codex referred to

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, C.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 686: ...hujus quidem Codicis textum, ut praecepisti, sub titulis misi.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, B.

⁶¹ Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 318; "Bibliothèques," *D.A.C.L.*, II, 875; Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 181; J. Tailhan, *Appendice sur L'Espagne*, in C. Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges . . .*, pp. 227, 240, n. 4. Tailhan was reluctant "to believe the king's *scriptorium* could be so stupid and negligent."

is most probably the jumble of laws from the Gothic code and the *Breviarium Alaricianum* which, with the accumulated decisions of over one hundred years, were fused into the *Forum judicum*.⁶² Even as late as 1924 Garcia Villada could not fathom the importance of the reference,⁶³ but when Anspach in 1930 attempted vainly to prove that the Letters referred to the *Etymologies*, of Isidore, Garcia Villada, who edited Anspach's work in Spain,⁶⁴ seems to have settled the problem for himself, since his own history, appearing a few years later, supports Ureña y Semenjaud's thesis,⁶⁵ to such an extent that Pérez de Urbel can now write that Anspach's theory is "untenable."⁶⁶ The reasons are: this is too late a date for the affixing of *tituli* to the *Etymologies*;⁶⁷ it is too early for the *Etymologies* to be in such a condition; Braulio would have had his scribes retouch or recopy the *Etymologies*; Receswinth would not have been so anxious about Isidore's work; there is no proof that Receswinth was a bibliophile; and the "welfare of the kingdom" would not depend on the *Etymologies*.

Garcia Villada believes that "the distribution into twelve books, the grouping of materials, and the analyses and rubries which appear at the head of each chapter and paragraph," should be attributed to the Fathers of the Eighth Council.⁶⁸ They are more likely Braulio's. More, the first book of the code, so admired by Guizot, Lot, and Ziegler, and disdained by Dahn and Zeumer, dealing as it does with "fine principles of sound political philosophy" and "philosophy of law," is "as-

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 458.

⁶³ "La cultura literaria del clero visigodo," *Estudios eclesiásticos*, III (1924), 260.

⁶⁴ *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, pp. vi, vii, 23-27. Cf. *supra*, p. 38, n. 27.

⁶⁵ *Historia . . .*, II, i, 186-188.

⁶⁶ "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, col. 449.

⁶⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 39.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

suredly the work of an ecclesiastic," probably Braulio.⁶⁹ We can not point to any one law in the body of the code and say that it was altered at the instance of Braulio.⁷⁰ It did not leave his hands a finished work, for Receswinth in his *tomus*, or discourse, to the Eighth Council, ordered them to remove what was corrupt or superfluous in the wording of the laws and retain only what was suited to true justice and the needs of administration.⁷¹ These Fathers of the council may have made some changes in the code. Knowing, however, at least through Tajo, that the redaction was the work of the deceased Braulio, they perhaps offered few suggestions.⁷²

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

We could, then, construct, with some feeling of security, but not certainty, an outline of Braulio's political philosophy from that held by his teacher, Isidore, and from that contained in the first book of the *Forum judicium*.⁷³ There is more certain

⁶⁹ For Lot see the quotation *supra*. For the other authors see Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁷⁰ Though he said he "added a line here and deleted letters there." Cf. *supra* Letter 38.—Due to Braulio's exceptional love of the dogma of the Mystical Body (cf. *supra*, p. 102), one might suspect Braulio to be the author of the introductory *capitulum*, ascribed to Receswinth, found in the second book of the code, wherein the relation of the king to his people is compared with that of the head to the body. It begins: Bene Deus, conditor rerum, disponens humani corporis formam, in sublimen caput erexit adque ex illo cunctas membrorum fibras exoriri decrevit; . . . (K. Zeumer, *Leges Visigothorum*, II, 1, 4, p. 47).

⁷¹ Zeumer, *op. cit.*, p. 474; Decernimus . . . ut . . . in legum sententiis, quae aut depravata consistunt aut ex superfluo vel indebito coniecta videntur, nostrae serenitatis accomodante consensu, haec sola, quae ad sinceram iustitiam et negotiorum sufficientiam convenient, ordinetis.

⁷² R. Altamira, "Spain under the Visigoths," *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 179: "It is probable that Braulio . . . was one of the compilers of the new code, if not the chief."

⁷³ Isidore's political philosophy is outlined by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-99; that of the first book of the *Forum judicium* is found *ibid.*, pp. 70-73. One may also consult for both, M. Madden, *Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain*, New York, 1930, pp. 25-27, 29-50.

material, however, with which to build, although its scarcity leaves the structure incomplete.

First there is his attitude toward an important question of his day: succession to the kingship. Visigothic tradition demanded the election of a successor. The Church was heartily behind this custom in theory.⁷⁴ In practice we find the Fathers of the Fourth Council (633), with Isidore and Braulio present, condemning the deposed Swinthila (621-631) and supporting the usurper Sisenand (631-636).⁷⁵ They ordained that Swinthila's children were never to occupy the throne,⁷⁶ they legislated against clerics who took part in insurrection,⁷⁷ and laid down the method of electing kings.⁷⁸ Chintila (636-640) was elected and the Fifth Council, with Braulio a guiding spirit, "drew up canons destined almost exclusively to assure pacific elections of kings and to guarantee security to the royal family."⁷⁹ The Sixth Council (638), with Braulio again the guiding spirit, condemned machinations for the throne in the lifetime of the king.⁸⁰ Tulga (640-641) was deposed by Chindaswinth (641-652). The clergy accepted the accomplished fact and swore support to a law condemning plotters against the king.⁸¹ In 646 Chindaswinth called the Seventh Council; Braulio did not attend, but his disciple Eugene II of Toledo did. The Council decreed that a cleric who, in the lifetime of the

⁷⁴ It is difficult to understand how Altamira (*op. cit.*, p. 177) could have arrived at this conclusion: "...the Catholic clergy,...from doctrinal and practical points of view had always favored the principle of hereditary succession to the throne..." This was not so in "Spain under the Visigoths."

⁷⁵ The background and sources are found in Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, 98, 105, 124-127, and *passim*.

⁷⁶ Canon 75.

⁷⁷ Canon 45.

⁷⁸ Canon 75.

⁷⁹ Pérez de Urbel, *op. cit.*, col. 447; cf. Canon 2 of the council.

⁸⁰ Canon 17.

⁸¹ *Leges Visigothorum*, II, 1, 8.

king, should side with an aspirant to the throne was to be excommunicated until he was dying, even if the pretender succeeded.⁸² As if to prove to us how theoretical and how subject to the times such conciliar action was, Braulio, two years later, in defiance of the canons and the elective tradition, wrote to Chindaswinth, in the name of himself, a bishop Eutropius, a count Celsus, and all their peoples, asking him to associate his son Receswinth in the rule, which he did.⁸³ In 653 Receswinth convoked the Eight Council. Braulio and Chindaswinth were dead. The Fathers of the council, led perhaps by Bishops Eugene and Tajo, Braulio's disciples, "as if condemning Bishop Braulio's interference in favor of the reigning sovereign," re-established the elective method.⁸⁴

Whether the suspension of the elective tradition was good for the kingdom or not, we shall not try to settle.⁸⁵ Surveying the background of the problem, as it has just been presented, we are forced to conclude that the move by Braulio was not the fruit of a permanent philosophy, but of a transitory policy. In a twenty-five line sentence Braulio gave the king his reasons for the request.⁸⁶ He believed that co-rulership would put an end to strife over the succession—Chindaswinth was an octogenarian—and guarantee peace for the future. Events justified his belief. His action pleased, of course, both kings, and we may, therefore suspect that he was currying favor, or was

⁸² Canon 12.

⁸³ Letter 37, *P.L.*, 80, 684. Cf. *supra*, p. 81.

⁸⁴ Canon 10. The quotation is from Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁸⁵ Leclercq (*L. Espagne chrétienne*, pp. xviii, 300, 316) condemns roundly *ce fatal système électif*, and praises Braulio's action. Ziegler (*op. cit.*, pp. 124-125) believes it might have worked out happily, had it been followed consistently.

⁸⁶ *P.L.*, 80, 684 C, D: ...et vestros labores cogitantes et in futurum patriae providentes, ...quatenus et inimicorum insidiae atque strepitus conquiescant et fidelium vestrorum vita absque pavore secura permaneat.

perhaps moved by their instigation.⁸⁷ As to his violation of conciliar legislation, we found above that the hierarchy was not consistently faithful to its own enactments on this matter, and that Braulio on at least two other occasions had disregarded any sanctity attached to a conciliar enactment.⁸⁸ We may feel that his permanent attitude, on the other hand, is one of deep respect for the canons, as it is expressed in Letters 17 and 36.⁸⁹

Before closing the incident, we should juxtapose for what it is worth, the decision of Braulio in a similar circumstance involving, this time, succession to an abbacy. To the abbot Fronimian, who was preparing a successor to himself whom the monks did not approve, he wrote some years before (632) :⁹⁰

Do not put over them one whom they do not want, in order that you may avoid scandal. . . . For they who receive one whom they do not want, do not obey him as they ought, and through disobedience scandal arises and religious life is lost.

Here we have, perhaps, Braulio's permanent philosophy on such a problem expressed:

In the later Middle Ages Braulio's political philosophy enjoyed a small measure of fame. Had the whole corpus of his Letters been known to the parties engaged in the lay investiture struggle, his fame would have been greater, because of Letters 31-35 which show so clearly that he considered the king had the

⁸⁷ G. Schnürer (*Die Anfänge der abendländischen Völkergemeinschaft*, Freiburg i. B., 1932, p. 108) believes that Chindaswinth's policy of curbing the aristocracy made him welcome Braulio's suggestion.

⁸⁸ In Letter 17 (cf. *supra*, p. 64) he admits that he had violated canons in ordaining a fugitive monk. In Letter 14 (cf. *supra*, p. 114) he counsels his brother Fronimian to follow the liturgical ordinances of the Fourth Council only if he sees fit. Cf. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 144.

⁸⁹ In Letter 17 (cf. *supra*, p. 64) he expresses contrition for violating the canons. In Letter 36 (cf. *supra*, p. 94) he tells Eugene that violation of the canons renders the blessing of holy oils invalid.

⁹⁰ Letter 13, *P.L.*, 80, 659 D, 660 C: Non illis praeponas quem nolunt ut scandalum caveas... Quia qui suscipiunt quem nolunt, non ei, ut debent, obedient, et oritur per inobedientiam scandalum et amittitur propositum.

right to appoint Eugene to the see of Toledo.⁹¹ His correspondence with Isidore, however, was at their disposal, prefacing, as it was, the many copies of the *Etymologies*. Proponents of lay investiture were quick to exploit the opinions of Braulio and Isidore contained therein, which acknowledge the king's right to appoint a metropolitan to a see.⁹² Theoderic, Bishop of Verdun, writing to "Pope Hildebrand" about 1080, quoted this passage from Braulio's Letter 5 to Isidore:⁹³

Relying on an exceptional favor from an exceptional person, in whom the strength of our holy Church abides, I request that, since our metropolitan Eusebius [of Tarragona] has died, you give the matter your kind attention, and request your son, our lord [the king], that he promote him to that place whose doctrine and sanctity may be an example to others.

From Letter 6, Isidore to Braulio, he quotes:⁹⁴ "On the appointment of a bishop to Tarragona I felt that what you have

⁹¹ *P.L.*, 80, 677-679. Cf. *supra*, p. 80.

⁹² Letter 5, edited by Lindsay as Letter 4, and Letter 6, edited by Lindsay as Letter 5. Cf. *supra*, p. 46.

⁹³ Speciali quoque gratia fretus speciali domino, in quo vires sanctae ecclesiae consistunt, suggero ut, quia Eusebius, metropolitanus noster, decessit, habeas misericordiae curam, et hoc filio, nostro domino, suggestas, ut illum illi loco praeficiat, cuius doctrina et sanctitas ceteris sit vitae forma. Cf. K. Francke, *M.G.H.*, *Libelli de lite . . .*, I, 284, 298.—Séjourné (*op. cit.*, p. 83) draws a lot out of one passage in this text: "L'oeuvre legislative d'Isidore . . . va nous révéler en lui l'organisateur de l'Église wisigothique, et par delà son époque, le grand législateur de l'Église du Moyen Age, *specialem dominum*, comme l'appelle Braulion, *in quo vires sanctae Ecclesiae consistunt.*"

⁹⁴ De constituendo autem episcopo Terraconensi non eam, quam petisti, sensi sententiam regis. Sed tamen et ipse adhuc ubi certius convertat animum, illi manet incertum.—Dom A. Lambert ("Audax," *D.H.G.E.*, V, 297) writes that Braulio first sent a message to the king suggesting the name of a successor. His deduction is apparently made from the fact that Isidore in Letter 6 mentions meeting Braulio's deacon at the court (Veni ad praesentiam principis; inveni praesentem diaconem tuum). He also deduces from the text above that Isidore did not relish Braulio's selection. Both deductions are ingenious, but tenuous.

requested is not the opinion of the king. However, he is not certain as yet to whom he will definitely turn.” In 1077 an anonymous work, in 1085 Manegold, and in 1087 Bishop Wido of Ferrara, used the same passages in their writings on the problem so acute to their age.⁹⁵

Although Letter 21 has already received detailed attention on two occasions, we must turn to it again in a study of Braulio’s political philosophy.⁹⁶ It has been used in the past both to uphold and to refute the contention that Spain at this time was attempting to set up a national Church independent of Rome. All have recognized that, compared with the other sections of Europe, Spain had infrequent relations with Rome during this period.⁹⁷ Garcia Villada and Magnin blame the distance and the Vandal-infested Mediterranean and quote Braulio’s own explanation in his Letter to Honorius that their two churches are separated by so many countries and so many seas.⁹⁸ Ziegler agrees with Duchesne that the kings may have been reluctant to have their bishops communicate with Rome, which acknowledged the sway of Ravenna and the Eastern Emperor.⁹⁹ Magnin agrees with Duchesne that barbarian courts made it a rule to discourage relations with Rome. This carried over to the Catholic kings of Toledo and the more central the government became,

⁹⁵ *De paenitentia regum et de investitura regali collectanea*, ed. H. Boehmer, *M.G.H.*, *ibid.*, III, 608, 614; *Manegoldi ad Gebehardum liber*, ed. Francke, *op. cit.*, pp. 300, 410; *Wido episcopus Ferrariensis de scismate Hildebrandi*, ed. R. William and E. Dümmeler, *M.G.H.*, *ibid.*, pp. 529, 566.

⁹⁶ It has been studied in the light of Braulio’s relations with the pope (*supra*, p. 55), papal supremacy (p. 100), and the Jewish problem (p. 131). Text of the Letter is found in Fita, *Suplementos al concilio Toledano VI*, pp. 27-33.

⁹⁷ Ziegler, *o. cit.*, p. 50; Magnin, *op. cit.*, I, 3, 4.

⁹⁸ Garcia Villada, *Historia . . .*, II, i, 139; Magnin, *op. cit.*, I, 4.—Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 28: Quum enim tot interjacentibus terris, tantisque interjectis marinis spatiis . . .

⁹⁹ Ziegler, *op. cit.*, p. 51; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, tr. by M. McClure, London, 1903, pp. 40-41 (a faulty translation; interchange the words “former” and “latter” on p. 41).

the fewer were the relations.¹⁰⁰ Magnin does not hesitate to say that "the Spanish bishops, proud of their national Church and Toledan Councils, resented somewhat the intervention of Rome."¹⁰⁰ Ziegler notes in the Letter to Honorius a "testiness and an air of injured innocence."¹⁰² Weber thinks Braulio defended the conduct of the Spanish episcopate "fearlessly."¹⁰³ Magnin says that its "form belies its contents, for the things understood were less amiable than the things said."¹⁰⁴ These scholars are all in agreement, however, that "the Spanish bishops were making no attempt to set up a national Church,"¹⁰⁵ and that "those who see in this text an indication of the independence of the Visigothic Church towards Rome have not taken the time to study it at close range."¹⁰⁶ On the contrary, Mann believes it shows "the paramount position of the pope in matters religious in that country,"¹⁰⁷ and Magnin lists many other proofs of loyalty to Rome, notably the celebration of a feast *in cathedra Sancti Petri* in seventh century Spain.¹⁰⁸

Helfferich seems justified in supposing that the Letter strained relations with Rome,¹⁰⁹ but Voigt seems to over-emphasize this "conflict with the papacy, in which the strong self-consciousness of the Spanish bishops shows itself."¹¹⁰ Caspar writes that the

¹⁰⁰ Magnin, *op. cit.*, I, 5, 6; Duchesne, *loc. cit.* (*Origines du culte chrétien*, 4 ed., pp. 40-41).

¹⁰¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 30, 31.

¹⁰² *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁰³ N. Weber, "Braulio," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 744.

¹⁰⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Garcia Villada, *Historia . . .*, II, i, 137.

¹⁰⁶ Pérez de Urbel, "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 448.

¹⁰⁷ H. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, I, i, 329.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, I, 13.

¹⁰⁹ A. Helfferich, *Der westgotische Arianismus und die spanische Ketzer-Geschichte*, Berlin, 1860, p. 59.

¹¹⁰ K. Voigt, *Staat und Kirche von Konstantin dem Grossen bis zum Ende der Karolingerzeit*, p. 168.

"papal self-esteem brought forth a sharp retort from Braulio," which was a "corrective of Roman centralization by the national Church."¹¹¹ It is true that the Letter points with national pride to what King Chintila had done to anticipate the pope's admonition,¹¹² but as a whole the tone of the Letter is that of a people intensely orthodox and entirely Catholic.¹¹³

Since it is quite the custom to link up any important anonymous work with the most important name of its period, we shall close this study of Braulio the canonist by associating his name with the great collection of canons called the *Hispana*. The collection was made during this period, probably a short time after the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), and has been considered as possibly the work of Isidore.¹¹⁴ It seems little probable that Isidore, old and ill as he was from 633 to 636, could have assumed the work of compiling the collection of canons. On the other hand, we are justified in believing from a passage in Letter 3 (625) that Braulio was already attempting to make just such a canonical collection; his words to Isidore are:¹¹⁵

Have the king send me as soon as possible, the acts of the synod in which Sintharius passed through the fire of your examination, if not to be purified thereby, melted at least. We have already asked the king for them, because we have great need of them, in order to seek out the truth in the council.

There is, however, no further proof that Braulio was making a collection and, hence, Séjourné may be correct in saying that

¹¹¹ E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, II, 671-672.

¹¹² Letter 21, ed. Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 28: Hoc quidem jam olim altissimo inspiramine et sacra meditatione, gloriosissimi et clementissimi filii vestri, Principis nostri, Chintilanis regis insederat animis.

¹¹³ For passages see *supra*, p. 101.

¹¹⁴ Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, pp. 269 ff.; cf. G. Le Bras, "Sur la part d'Isidore de Séville et des espagnols dans l'histoire des collections canoniques," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, X (1930), 238; P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident*, I (Paris, 1931), 68.

¹¹⁵ For text see *supra*, p. 107.

his intention was "perhaps to have them deposited as they were in the archives of Saragossa, perhaps to have them appended to an already existing collection."¹¹⁶ If the preliminary studies of J. Tarré on the origins of the *Hispana* are accepted, neither Isidore nor Braulio can be given credit for its existence.¹¹⁷ His findings, which Le Bras hesitates to accept fully,¹¹⁸ would place its origins in Arles. The two collections called the *Liber Tarraconensis* and the *Caesaraugustana* do not enter our discussion since they seem to have originated outside of Spain and at a later date.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 270.

¹¹⁷ Cf. "Les sources de la legislation ecclésiastique dans la province Tarraconaise," *Positions des thèses de l'École Nationale des Chartes* (Paris, 1927), pp. 126, 133.

¹¹⁸ Le Bras, *loc. cit.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCHOLAR

HIS LIBRARY—SCHOLARLY PURSUITS

THE last two chapters have dealt with Braulio as a churchman and his activities in the field of sacred sciences. In the following study of his bookish inclinations, we feel that we have left his public activities for a glimpse into his private life. We might say that books were his hobby.

HIS LIBRARY

We may assume that Braulio's episcopal palace in Saragossa was somewhat similar to that of Isidore in Seville, in that it contained rooms that were known as the library, the apothecary's room, and the *scriptorium*, or writing-room.¹

It was probably too early a period for his library to be divided into the two sections common in later mediaeval libraries, one the *armarium* for secular works *in usu scholarum*, and the other the *sacrarium* for religious books.² His word for the library is *armarium*, a book-case.³ Since his library was very probably as extensive as Isidore's, he had perhaps fourteen or sixteen book-cases, each of which contained about thirty books; the whole collection contained, then, about 450 books.⁴ Books is the word, for Braulio calls them *codices* and not *volumina*, which would

¹ C. Beeson, *Isidor-studien. Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, IV, ii, 157-166.

² T. Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 303 ff.; H. Koepler, "De viris illustribus and Isidore of Seville," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), 18, n. 2.

³ Cf. *infra*, n. 9.

⁴ M. James, "Learning and Literature till the Death of Bede," *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, 491.

make them rolls.⁵ Vellum, that is parchment, was the material used in them; a papyrus codex was the exception.⁶

Although Braulio, as we shall see, shows a very orderly mind in his writings, his library, like that of many a scholar and bibliophile, was very disorderly, just as we found his collection of relics to be.⁷ Fructuosus in Letter 43 wrote to Braulio for several works in particular, including his *Life of St. Emilian*, and for any other works which he could spare.⁸ Braulio answered:⁹

Of the books which you asked me to send you, I have not found duplicates; some, nor have I recovered any of them, I noticed were taken from my library, and my occupations kept me from looking into the matter. But if God wills it and life spares me, there is hope of finding them and sending them to you.

This disorder was not due to his age at the time, for earlier in his life the condition existed. In 636 he finished his *Life of St. Emilian*. Some years before he had collected notes to be used in its writing, which notes he had lost track of when he was ready to write.¹⁰

⁵ Cf. *infra*, n. 9; James, *loc. cit.*; F. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, pp. 95 ff., 111.

⁶ Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p. 111; E. Lowe, "Handwriting," *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Crump and E. Jacob, Oxford, 1926, p. 204.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 106.

⁸ *P.L.*, 80, 691 D.

⁹ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 A: ...codices quos vobis a nobis dirigendos mandasti, scriptos duplices non inveni; aliquos, nec singulares reperi, subtractos eos de armario nostro animadvertis, inquisitionemque occupatio tulit. Sed si Deus voluerit, et vita comes fuerit, est spes eos et inveniendi, et vobis mittendi.

¹⁰ Prefatory Letter to the *Vita*, addressed to Fronimian, edited by Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 214: Nunc autem nutu, ut reor, divino, cum quemdam codicem pro hoc quod animo occurrerat, vellem inspicere, jussisseque perquirere, ac revolveretur strues librorum, notitia illa diu prodita subito inventa est non quaesita: jam enim cessaverat intentio perquirentium, cum esset uspiam inveniendi desperatio.

But then one day, by divine will I think, when I wished to look at a certain book for something that had come to my mind, and I ordered a search for it, while a pile of books was being handled, that note long lost suddenly came to light unsought: for they had given up all intention of looking for it, since there was no hope of finding it anywhere.

Because of the efforts that Braulio constantly made to secure books, we might reasonably suppose that he possessed copies of most of the works available in his day in the libraries of his friends, particularly that of Isidore.¹¹ We shall confine our cataloguing, however, to the works mentioned specifically in his writings. They are grouped here without comment for convenience; a detailed discussion will follow.

Taking first the profane works to which he refers, we can not with certainty say that Braulio possessed any of the classical authors, because his was an age of compendiums. He refers to a fable of Aesop, and quotes Cicero's *Academica posteriora*, Horace's *Satires* and his *Ars poetica*, Ovid's *Fasti*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Appius is quoted, probably by way of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*.¹² Because of his probable work on the *Forum judicium*, it is barely possible that he possessed a copy of Justinian's *Code*.¹³

Of Christian works he had the Pseudo-Jerome *Liber quaestioneum hebraicarum* and Jerome's *Epistola ad Vitalem*. He may have had his *Epistola 107*, and his letter to Augustine, *Epistola*

¹¹ The works in contemporary libraries are listed in H. Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," *D.A.C.L.*, II, 875. His passages are almost verbatim from J. Tailhan, "Appendice sur l'Espagne," C. Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie d'histoire et de littérature sur le Moyen Age*, série 3, vol. 4, 236-238. For Isidore's library see Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 203, or P. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 38.

¹² The quotations are treated more fully, *infra*, p. 161.—Ballesteros y Beretta (*Historia de España*, I, 547), following N. Antonio (*Bibliotheca veteris Hispana*, I, 374, reprinted in *P.L.*, 80, 641, note b.) credits him with quoting from Juvenal. The quotation is not discernible.

¹³ Cf. *supra*, p. 137.

172 in the Augustine corpus. Of Augustine he had the *De civitate Dei*, and the *Enarrationes in psalmos*. He had Cassian's *Collationes* complete, and the *Instructiones* of Eucherius. He quotes from the *Evangeliorum libri quattuor* of Juvencus.

Among the historical works he possessed were the lives of Saints Honoratus and Germanus of Lerins, and probably the lives of Saint Anthony and of Saint Martin of Tours. He seems to have had a copy of the translation of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica* by Rufinus.

On the subject of compute in regard to the paschal term, he had in translation, and probably in compendious form, Theophilus of Alexandria's *Epistola ad Theodosium I*, Cyril of Alexandria's *Paschal Homilies*, Dionysius of Alexandria's *Festal Letter* of the year 251, Proterius of Alexandria's *Epistola ad papam Leonem*, and a *Paschal Letter* of Paschasinus of Sicily.

It is likely that he had the *Liber regulae pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, the *Moralia* in its first and homiletic form of thirty-five books, and the first two parts of its second and commentarial form, which was in four parts. Just before his death he probably came into possession of all the works of Gregory.

Presumably all of the works of Isidore were in the library of Braulio, though we can be certain only of the *Synonyma*, the *Regula*, the *Etymologiae*, and the *De viris illustribus*, to which he appended his biography of Isidore.

To Braulio the great names among the Christian writers were Augustine, Jerome, and Hilary. He seems to indicate that their works were available to the educated man.¹⁴ The only work of Jerome, however, which he mentions specifically besides the spurious *Liber quaestionum hebraicarum*, is the *Epistola ad*

¹⁴ Letter 9 to the priest Jactatus, *P.L.*, 80, 655 B: Nam cum quotidie in lege Domini mediteris, et beatissimorum Patrum peritissimorumque revolvas paginas virorum,... Sufficit, et valde sufficit, ut amicum tuum legas sanctum Augustinum, ut Hieronymum, ut Hilarium, ut ceteras doctissimos viros, quos et mihi commemorare longum est et te usui habere dubium non est.

*Vitalem.*¹⁵ On one occasion he seems to have quoted from memory a passage in a letter of Jerome to Augustine,¹⁶ and on another used, perhaps, his *Epistola 107*.¹⁷ He read carefully all the works of Augustine that came into his hands, but the *De civitate Dei* and the *Enarrationes* are the only works we may be sure he had.¹⁸ He makes no mention of Hilary save the passing reference in Letter 9. He had a complete set of Cassian's twenty-four *Collationes*, but no duplicate copy.¹⁹ He quotes from Eucherius' *Instructiones*, considering him an equal of Augustine and Jerome in exegesis.²⁰ In the preface to the *Vita S. Aemiliani* Braulio quotes a verse, popular with mediaeval writers, from the *Evangeliorum libri quattuor* of Juvencus, at the same time praising his style.²¹ The lives of Saints Honoratus and Germanus of Lerins were in his collection, and possibly the lives of Saint Anthony and Saint Martin of Tours, since he compares Emilian to them.²²

¹⁵ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 694 B, 696 B, 697 C. Other references to Jerome are found in Letter 42, *ibid.*, 689 A; and Letter 44, *ibid.*, 693 B, 695 D.

¹⁶ Letter 12, *ibid.*, 658 D and note b. The letter is number 172 in the corpus of Augustine.

¹⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 163.

¹⁸ Letter 42, *ibid.*, 688 A: ... quae a sancto Augustino per diversa opuscula sua quae ad manus venerunt meas... sunt dissertata. Letter 44, *ibid.*, 694 A: Nam et sanctus Augustinus in libro de Civitate Dei quinto decimo, ... Letter 1, ed. Lindsay, Letter B, Isidore to Braulio: Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te ut mihi decada sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres.

¹⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 180.

²⁰ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 695 D, 696 A.

²¹ Mabillon's reading (*P.L.*, 80, 702 C) is closer to the original than Minguella's reading, and more properly introduced: Secundum quod elegantissime quidam veterum poetarum ait: Hoc opus, hoc etenim forsitan me subtrahet igni. Minguella (*op. cit.*, p. 218) reads "Patrum" for "poetarum" and inserts a comma after "subtraet" (*sic*). For the original see J. Huemer, *Juvenci evangeliorum libri quattuor*, *C.S.E.L.*, p. 2, *praefatio*, line 22; see also his remarks on page ix.

²² Letter 43, *ibid.*, 691 D, and Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 A; *Vita S. Aemiliani*, ed. Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

When explaining the paschal term he gives as his authorities the canons of the Council of Nice as found in the seventh book of the translation by Rufinus of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*,²³ and the Alexandrine authorities mentioned above. These latter were probably contained in some paschal compendium, translated into Latin.²⁴

Isidore seems to have kept Braulio supplied with copies of his own works, and of others that came into his possession.²⁵ Braulio's very exact description of Isidore's works in his *Praenotatio librorum D. Isidori* could hardly have been accomplished without the works at hand.²⁶ In the Letters we are informed that the *Synonyma*, probably the *Regula*, and *Etymologiae* were sent to Braulio.²⁷ On two occasions in letters to others he uses the *Etymologiae* for proof of an argument, the first of a long line to do so.²⁸

A consideration of what works of Gregory the Great were in the possession of Braulio we have left till last, because of a controversy involved. To read the passages devoted to Gregory in the *De viris illustribus* of Isidore and that of Ildefonse, one might conclude that they thought of Gregory as the greatest of

²³ Evidently by "in septimo libro ecclesiastico (sic) historiae" Braulio is referring to Rufinus' history. The canon of the council dealing with the paschal term is found in Book 9. Book 7, however, has a passage dealing with the subject, which may have been in his mind. Eusebius' original, which Rufinus translated and augmented, was not written late enough to include the council.

²⁴ For text cf. *supra*, p. 116. Cf. also B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, pp. 220, 247, 269, 298.

²⁵ Letter 6, ed. Lindsay Letter 5: Codicem Etymologiarum cum aliis codicibus de itinere transmisi.

²⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 217.

²⁷ Letter 1, ed. Lindsay B: Misimus vobis Synonymorum libellum. Letter 2; for text cf. *infra*, p. 179. Letter 6; for the pertinent passage see two notes above.

²⁸ Letter 22 (written in 640), *P.L.*, 80, 670 D, 671 A; *Etymologies*, VI, 17 is most probably referred to. Letter 44, *ibid.*, 696 A; *Etymologies*, VII, 6, 13 is quoted.

all Christian scholars, St. Augustine not excepted. On the other hand Braulio does not quote from Gregory once, nor does he refer to him at any time as an authority. It might be considered as a tribute to his scholarship that he preferred to go back to Augustine and Jerome, but, more likely, this was done out of necessity. Copies of Gregory's works were not yet as accessible as those of the older Fathers. He had, however, some of Gregory's works, and was anxious to secure more, as we shall see. He must have read them well and esteemed them, as a passage in Letter 11 tells us. He is at odds with his pupil Tajo and writes rather sharply:²⁹ "Now that model exercise of yours, how trite it was to me and, as they say, trodden underfoot, except that part, for which you can thank Gregory, which I noticed was pilfered or rather corrupted."

Tajo, it seems, even at this early day (*a.* 631), was enamored of Gregory's writings. He was fired by them, and by the passage in Isidore's *De viris illustribus*, perhaps, which reads: "It is said that he wrote other moral books and homilies on the four Gospels, a work which I do not know. Happy, a thousand times happy, is he who knows all his works."³⁰ He set out about 646 for Rome, apparently at the instigation of King Chindaswinth,³¹ and perhaps of Braulio, whom he was shortly to succeed, to secure these works of Gregory not available in Spain. On his return about 649 he received a letter from Braulio, the only other one,

²⁹ *P.L.*, 80, 657 D: Nam paradigma tuum illud in armatura compositum quam mihi erat pervium et pede, ut aiunt, conterere, excepto illud pace Gregorii quod peculatum imo corruptum vidi.—For the background of the Letter see above p. 61.—E. Bishop ("Spanish Symptoms," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 8 (1906-1907), 288) believes Braulio is here telling Tajo what he thinks of his *Libri quinque sententiarum*. Chronology forbids this, since the *Sententiae* were written twenty years later.

³⁰ Chapter 40, *P.L.*, 83, 1103 A: Fertur tamen idem sanctissimus vir, et alios libros morales scripsisse, totumque textum quatuor Evangeliorum sermocinando in populis exposuisse, incognitum scilicet nobis opus. Felix tamen, et nimium felix, qui omnia studiorum ejus potuit cognoscere.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 62.

by the way, in which Gregory is mentioned, which contained this passage:³²

One thing I have forgotten here that is most important to me: that Christ may bring your venture to a glorious close, I beg you to send me quickly for transcribing the books of the saintly pope Gregory which up to now were unavailable in Spain, but which have been brought here from Rome by your zeal and effort.

Tajo then proceeded to write his *Sententiarum libri quinque* using the writings of Gregory as the principal source, and of these the *Moralia* in particular.³³ A few years later Ildefonse added a chapter on Gregory to his *De viris illustribus* because he had information concerning his writings that Isidore did not have. He writes that those works which Isidore designated as “*alios libros morales*” were twenty-two homilies on the prophet Ezechiel.³⁴ He also adds Gregory’s *Dialogues* and his commentary on the *Canticle of Canticles*.

The authorities vary in their identification of the books that Tajo brought from Rome because they were unavailable in Spain. What works of Gregory were used by Isidore, and, therefore, by Braulio? Isidore testifies that he had the *Liber regulae pastoralis*, some letters, and Gregory’s first edition of the work

³² Letter 43, *P.L.*, 80, 690 B: Et unum quod mihi et praे omnibus necessarium et hic fuerat praetermissum, peto ita Christus cursum propositi tui efficiat gloriosum ut mihi Codices sancti papae Gregorii inexpositos, qui needum in Hispania erant tuoque studio et sudore de Roma huc sunt delati ad transcribendum ocius mittas.

³³ Letter to Eugene prefacing the *Sententiae*, ed. Vollmer, *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina, M.G.H., Auct. Antiq.*, XIV, 289. The text of the *Sententiae* as found in *P.L.*, 80, 731-990, has the passages from the *Moralia* identified.

³⁴ Chap. I, *P.L.*, 96, 198: Scripsit praeterea, exceptis opusculis de quibus Isidorus beatae memoriae mentionem facit, idem excellentissimus doctor et alios libros morales, videlicet super Ezechiem prophetam homilias viginti duas.

we know to-day as the *Moralia*.³⁵ This consisted, as Isidore rightly describes it, of thirty-five books in homiletic form on the *Book of Job*. Gregory later recast the work, dividing it into four books in the form of a commentary. All are agreed that the first two parts of the revision were sent to Leander and were in the possession of Isidore. For years it was thought that Tajo went to Rome at the request of King Chindaswindth to secure the third and fourth books, because of the explicit testimony of the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana*. In 1909 Luciano Serrano insisted that the testimony of the *Continuatio* was a legend in this case, and offered proof that Isidore used the third and fourth parts in his works. In 1924 Garcia Villada summed up the question and supported Serrano. Recently J. de Aldama offered further proof of this, and also testimony that Isidore used Gregory's *Homilies on the Gospels*.

Perhaps the argument is closed, for recent writers are accepting their decision, but a doubt lingers that perhaps the testimony of the *Continuatio* is not legendary. Can the passages cited from Isidore be proved to be from the third and fourth books of the second edition, and not from the first edition? One should not quote Braulio as a proof that Isidore used the *Moralia* in its second and complete form. In the *Praenotatio* Braulio does not say that Isidore's *Sententiae* is filled "with flowers from the *Moralia*."³⁶ He says, rather, that Isidore wrote "three books of Sentences, which are decorated with flowers from the moral

³⁵ *De viris illustribus*, chap. 40, *P.L.*, 83, 1102.—From here on the argument of the text is based on the following well-documented bibliography: L. Serrano, "Una leyenda del Cronicón Pacense," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 3a E., 20 (1909), 401-411; "La obra 'Morales de San Gregorio' en la literatura hispano-goda," *ibid.*, 24 (1911), 482-497; (see especially) Z. Garcia Villada, "La cultura literaria del clero visigodo," *Estudios eclesiásticos*, III (1924), 254-259; *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 90; J. de Aldama, "Cronología de las obras Isidorianas," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 71-83.

³⁶ Garcia Villada, *locis citatis*.

books of Pope Gregory.”³⁷ On the other hand, Tajo upon his return wrote his *Sententiae* based primarily on the *Moralia*. Lastly, to use a recent find of E. Anspach as proof is unconvincing. Anspach has discovered in a thirteenth-century manuscript a work entitled *Ecloga de Gregorii Moralibus*, and believes it to be the work referred to in the interpolated part of Braulio’s *Praenotatio* which reads: “*Moralium libros beati Gregorii papae rogatu compendiose abbreviavit.*”³⁸

Hence, it is probable that Braulio had only Gregory’s *Liber regulae pastoralis*, the first edition of the *Moralia*, and the first half of the second edition until shortly before his death, when Tajo, after his return from Rome doubtlessly sent him the rest of Gregory’s works in answer to the plea of Letter 43.

SCHOLARLY PURSUITS

We have had ample proof so far that Braulio deserved Eugene’s praise of being “skilled and learned.”³⁹ We might go further and praise him for being a humanist, if anyone between Cassiodorus and Lupus of Ferrières could deserve such distinction. This honor can be claimed for him more because of his attitude toward learning, his love of books, and the spirit he instilled in his compatriots, than because of his own writings.

Volumes have been written on the attitude of the Church Fathers toward secular learning: their dilemma of *scriptura*, or Christian writings, on the one hand, and *litteratura*, or pagan writings, on the other. It always ended in a compromise, not always confessed in writing, but always in practice, a compro-

³⁷ *P.L.*, 81, 16 C: *Sententiarum libros tres, quos floribus ex libris papae Gregorii moralibus decoravit.*

³⁸ E. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, pp. 81, 59. That the latter is an interpolation of the twelfth century is granted by all, except Anspach, who would make it an interpolation of the eighth century. Cf. *infra*, p. 215.

³⁹ Letter 35, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 284: *Inde per eum te precor, ... cuius instructione peritus esse probaris et doctus.*

mise, which for most was utilitarian, that is, the classics were tolerated for the sake of the scriptures, but for some was humanistic, that is, the classics were studied for the sake of themselves.⁴⁰ Even Gregory the Great, the most out-spoken of the "anti-classicists," has his defenders,⁴¹ and Leclercq's opinion of Isidore must be tempered by that of Brehaut.⁴²

Braulio was a traditionalist in the matter. He wrote in condemnation of secular learning with classical verve, and betrays a deep love of the ancients. Tajo, himself a lover of the classics and a pupil of Braulio, is bombarded with pagan quotations by the archdeacon Braulio in Letter 11, only to be lectured twenty years later by Bishop Braulio on the vanity of secular knowledge.⁴³ The conflict is well displayed in a single sentence of a Letter written shortly after Braulio became bishop. To the archdeacon Floridius he writes:⁴⁴ "A most difficult time is upon us, . . . when it us behoves to think of the necessity of salvation and the brevity of life, rather than, in the words of Appius, to exercise canine eloquence." Because Floridius is asking about a secular subject, which is intricate and time-taking, Braulio begs off by subtly continuing his attack on secular knowledge:⁴⁵ "As the Apostle says, 'Since the time is short' (I. Cor. 7, 29), I should rather devote my efforts to charity, which edifies, than

⁴⁰ An excellent article on the subject: M. Laistner, "The Christian Attitude to Pagan Literature," *History*, 20 (1935), 49-54. Cf. also P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, Paris, 1924, pp. 15-45.

⁴¹ E. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, pp. 25-28.

⁴² H. Leclercq, "École," *D.A.C.L.*, IV, 2, 1850; E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, pp. 81-88, 30, n. 2, and 31.

⁴³ *P.L.*, 80, 657; Letter 42, *ibid.*, 687 B, C, and 688 D.

⁴⁴ Letter 12, *ibid.*, 658 D: *Incipit enim tempus difficillimum, . . . dum nobis potius impendat salutis necessitatem vitae compendia cogitare, quam juxta Appium caninam facundiam exercere.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 659 B: *. . . secundum Apostolum qui ait: Quoniam tempus breve est; charitati potius operam dare, quae aedificat, quam scientiae, quae difficile est ut non aut inflet, aut non pateat invidiae.*

to science, which it is difficult to keep from puffing up or giving rise to envy (1 Cor. 8, 1.).”

Writing to the saintly Fructuosus at the end of his life he preaches thus:⁴⁶

And so I have responded in my own prosaic style, since we should not gape with astonishment at words so much as seek out the meaning of the thoughts, in order that our speech may hold to evangelical simplicity and flee the froth of pagan eloquence.

Yet a few lines later Fructuosus read this: “*Macte virtute, cuius talia erumpunt germina, qualia existent fructuosi fructuosa frumenta?*”⁴⁷ In the same Letter he quotes, in the company of Jerome and Eucherius, a “gentile poet.”⁴⁸

We are not surprised to find Braulio condemning secular learning at great length in the preface to his *Life of St. Emilian*; it was a commonplace in lives of the saints of the seventh century to declare that elegant language mattered little.⁴⁹ “Although,” he writes, “I have made a study to some extent of the secular disciplines, I quite scorn their use here.”⁵⁰ Yet in the same pre-

⁴⁶ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 A: En respondi pedestri et peculiari sermone, quia non tam verbis inhiare quam debemus sententiis studere, ut et locutio nostra evangelicam simplicitatem teneat, et spumas gentilium eloquiorum refugiat.—By isolating this text Pérez de Urbel has belittled Braulio’s devotion to grammar and style. Cf. “Una carta de San Isidoro?” *Revista historica*, I (Valladolid, 1918), 324. Although listed by Pérez de Urbel in the bibliography to his article on “Braulio” (*D.H.G.E.*, X, 453), this work is of little importance for a study of the saint. The *Revista* seems to be unavailable in the United States. Volume 1 is available at the British Museum and the author has a photostatic copy of Pérez de Urbel’s article from that library.

⁴⁷ Letter 44, 698 B.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 693 B: ...gentilis poetae antiquum in te vertam praeconium, et haec solum dicam: O decus Hispaniae sacrum.

⁴⁹ M. Roger, *L’Enseignement des lettres classiques d’Ausone à Alcuin*, p. 420, n. 7.

⁵⁰ Ed. Minguela, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 219: ...cum ob rem disciplinarum secularium studium etsi ex parte adtingi, omnino hic servare contemsi.

face he speaks of the "Tullian founts;" the *Life* is filled with rhetoric; and in the *Hymn* heaven is Olympus.⁵¹

If what Lot has said is true, namely, that Isidore "hated antique culture with its paganism,"⁵² then it was irony indeed, that Braulio, his favorite pupil and literary executor, could neither compose nor find a more fitting epitaph for the master, than Cicero's eulogy of Varro.⁵³

In writing to the abbot Emilian he finds room to compare the dangers about him to Scylla, Charybdis, and the sirens,⁵⁴ showing more than just perfunctory acquaintance with this commonplace. Even to the pope he proudly displays his classical spirit, when, with studied rime and cusus, he writes to Honorius:⁵⁵

. . . a Domino petentes . . . ut navis Fidei, quae inter scopulos
tentationum, et Charybdim voluptatum atque fluctus perseque-
tionum, vel Scyllae latratus, rabiemque gentilium assidue convexa-
tur, sua gubernatione ac moderatione ad salutis portum quietissime
deducatur. . . .

And he might just as well have quoted Plautus verbatim to the pope, when he boldly told him: "*Sapienti enim viro pauca dicta sufficiunt.*"⁵⁶

Braulio's classical content is not exhausted by these passages, but they are sufficient for the purpose, once they are supplemented by an exact accounting of the classical authors whom he quoted in his works.

Aesop's *Fables* were well known to both Tajo and Braulio, as a casual allusion in Letter 11 indicates. The commonplace referred to, however, can not be construed as familiarity with the

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217; *Hymnus de S. Aemiliiano, Analecta hymnica*, 27, 125, v. 2.

⁵² F. Lot, *Les invasions germaniques*, p. 181; "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?" *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi*, VI (1931), 109-110.

⁵³ In the *Praenotatio*. Cf. *infra*, p. 218.

⁵⁴ Letter 25, *P.L.*, 80, 673 D.

⁵⁵ Letter 21, ed. Fita, *Suplementos . . .*, p. 32.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Cp. Plautus, *Persa*, line 729: *Dictum sapienti sat est.*

work of Phaedrus.⁵⁷ A certain Appius, possibly Appius Claudius Caecus, is represented by a quotation which appears in Letters 11 and 12.⁵⁸ The passage was very probably known to Braulio only through its appearance in Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*. Cicero's eulogy of Varro, slightly adapted, as found in his *Academica posteriora*, becomes Braulio's eulogy of Isidore.⁵⁹ In Letter 11 again we find quotations from Horace's *Satires*, Ovid's *Fasti*, and the *Aeneid*.⁶⁰ In Letter 44 he quotes an unknown "gentile poet."⁶¹ The only other classical echo is a favorite quotation of Braulio's appearing in three of his Letters, with slight modifications; it reads: *dum urceum fingere volo, amphoram finxit manus.*⁶² One of the Letters in which it appears is Letter 36 to Eugene, and it therefore received the benefit of Vollmer's editing.⁶³ The *Thesaurus linguae latinae*, using this edition, says that Braulio is here misquoting from Horace's

⁵⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 657 B: Tu e contra velut graculus Aesopius superbia tumidus in camelo me jussisti ascendere. Braulio's reference is a variation of the fable in Phaedrus (I, 3). Tertullian (*Adv. Val.*, XII) uses the bare expression "graculus Aesopius."

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 657 D and 658 D: ... ac secundum Appium caninam videamus exercere facundiam.—Quintiliani *institutiones oratoriae*, XII, 9, 9, ed. E. Bonnell (Teubner) II, 260: Ea est enim prorsus *canina*, ut ait Appius, eloquentia, cognituram male dicendi subire. Cf. J. Watson, *Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory*, II, 428; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, p. 420.

⁵⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 218.

⁶⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 657 C, D: ...juxta Flaccum ... (*Satires*, I, 4, 34): Fenum habet in cornu, longe fuge; imo illud Virgilianum (*Aeneid*, XII, 50, 51):

Et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra
Spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.

... secundum Ovidium (*Fasti*, III, 738), ne habeat ingratos fabula nostra jocos.—This last passage is paraphrased a few lines above: ... ne faciat longas fabula nostra moras.

⁶¹ *P.L.*, 80, 693 C: ...gentilis poetae antiquum in te vertam paeconium, et haec solum dicam: O decus Hispaniae sacrum.

⁶² Letter 11, 36, 44.

⁶³ F. Vollmer, *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina*, *M.G.H.*, *Auct. Antiq.*, XIV, 286: ...sed, ut est illud tibi notum ...

Ars poetica (vv. 21, 22): *amphora coepit institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?*⁶⁴ The *Thesaurus* also points out, again using Vollmer's edition of the Letters of Eugene, that Tajo likewise misquoted it in a letter to Eugene, giving: *dum figuli rota currante urceum facere nitor, amphoram finxit manus.*⁶⁵ Tajo ascribed the passage to "some very learned man." Braulio in Letter 36 introduced the passage to Eugene with "as you know," and to Fructuosus in Letter 44 with "as someone says."⁶⁶ But in Letter 11 to Tajo he says very clearly "as Terence said."⁶⁷ Vollmer and the *Thesaurus*, nevertheless, believe Braulio to have been mistaken in the ascription. In their opinion he adapted it from a paraphrase of Horace, as found in Jerome's *Epistola 107*.⁶⁸ This would seem to be correct.

Braulio was certainly a lover of books. Every letter in his corpus, if it is not consolatory, turns on a request for a book. Collecting was a passion with him; there is an impetuosity about his pursuit of books. Compared to him, Isidore was a pragmatic antiquarian. Braulio was a bibliophile and, what meant much more, he passed on books to others in a period of scarcity.⁶⁹

He plagued Isidore for books and the acts of councils. His insistence that the *Etymologies* be finished and sent to him fills his long Letter 5. His pupil Tajo sent him a work he had written

⁶⁴ I, 1986, s. v. "amphora."

⁶⁵ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 290: ...ut ait quidam doctissimus ...

⁶⁶ *P.L.*, 80, 699 A: ...ut ait quidam ...

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 658 B: En dum urceum fingere volo, ut ait Terentius, amphoram finxit manus.—The circularizing of the quotation among the three friends is not without its humor. Braulio probably taught it to the two pupils, Tajo and Eugene. They later found it in his letters to them. Later still, Tajo parades it in a letter to Eugene.

⁶⁸ Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 290, note. Jerome, Letter 107, 3 (*P.L.*, 22, 870): ...currente rota dum urceum facere cogito, amphoram fixit manus.

⁶⁹ On Braulio and books see: Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," *D.A.C.L.*, II, 876-877; Tailhan, *loc. cit.*; J. de Ghellinck, "Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques," *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), 376-377.

and by return post he criticised it.⁷⁰ Years later we find him lying in wait for the return of Tajo from Rome with certain writings of Gregory the Great.⁷¹ He was careful to promise that he would send them back at whatever time Tajo laid down.⁷² He knew the contents of other libraries in the land, and when he heard that the collection of Count Lawrence of Toledo was being dispersed, he did not hesitate to put the king's counselor, Emilian, on the track of a book which he knew the count had possessed.⁷³

I beg that I may receive from you for transcribing the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Aprigius, Bishop of Pace, a work which I seek and can not find. Even if you do not possess it, it will be easy for you, on account of your wide powers and the celebrity of your city, to get it from someone who does, so that we may receive it through you. I know for a fact that formerly it was in the possession of Count Lawrence. Now my lord will best know where to look for the work and how to grant my petition, for it will be transcribed and returned quickly.

Emilian had to disappoint him, for it could not be found in the king's library, and the count's library had been dispersed.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 155.

⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 156.

⁷² Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 690 B: Credat mihi certe charitas tua, codices istos remittam quo tempore institueris.

⁷³ Letter 25, *ibid.*, 674 B: Verumtamen, quaeso ut quia librum Aprincii Pacensis episcopi tractatum (*sic*) Apocalypsin quaero et non invenio, a vobis ad transcribendum accipiam directum; facile enim vobis erit propter amplissimam potestatem vestram, et celebritatem urbis, etiam si eum non habeatis, perquirere a quo habeatur, ut nobis per vos praesentetur. Sane in tempore apud Laurentium comitem dudum eum fuisse novi. Jam domini mei erit ubi ubi perquirere, et petitionem meam implere, citius enim et transcribetur et remittetur.

⁷⁴ Letter 26, *ibid.*, 675 A: ... quando alibi invenire non valui, filio vestro domno nostro [the king] suggesti, et ipse inter libros suos inquirere jussit, sed omnino iste codex inveniri non potuit, nam et pro libris Laurentii solliciti fuimus, sed quia illo tempore res, sicut nostis, in dispersionem venit, nihil inde investigare potuimus.—For the history of this rare work see Garcia Villada, *Historia . . .*, II, ii, 124; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der*

On the other hand, he sent books to Isidore, and promised books to Fructuosus. We feel that the incident of Letter 16, wherein a bereaved widow, the Lady Apicella, was sent a present of a codex of the Old Testament, was not an isolated occurrence in the life of the saint.

In one respect was Braulio found wanting as a scholar. He was more the collector than the corrector. Because of the old interpretation placed on his correspondence with King Receswinth, he has been praised in the past as one who sought to collate and correct manuscripts.⁷⁵ He did in this case, but it was done, we have decided with some certainty, only that the new code of laws might be drawn up for promulgation. It is the only evidence we have that Braulio put his hand to a work for the purpose of correction.

We have sufficient evidence to say, however, that there was a modest *scriptorium* in his episcopal palace. It was probably one of the centers from which emanated the first manuscripts written in the characteristic hand of Spain which is to-day called Visigothic script. A development of the Roman cursive writing of the late Empire, modified somewhat by uncial and half-uncial hands, it was a minuscule script that began just about this time and lasted till the twelfth century, when it was overcome by the continental hand.⁷⁶

Here would Braulio's pupils and assistants, probably few in number, copy out quickly works such as the books of Gregory borrowed from Tajo, or work over carefully the Old Testament which was prepared for another, but sent to the Lady Apicella.

altkirchlichen Literatur, V, 396; Pérez de Urbel (*Los monjes españoles en edad media*, I, 350, n. 2) informs us that the complete text is found in a manuscript of Silos now in Paris.

⁷⁵ Letters 38-41. Cf. *supra*, p. 138.

⁷⁶ C. U. Clark, *Collectanea hispanica*, pp. 106-107; M. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900*, p. 181; E. Lowe, "Handwriting," *The Legacy of the Middle Ages*, ed. Crump and Jacob, pp. 202, 210-211.

It has been estimated that a long work such as the *Etymologies* would have taken them a year to copy, and we know that the Bible could be copied in six months.⁷⁷ Silence was not observed here as in a monastic *scriptorium*.⁷⁸ It was presumably here that Braulio dictated his Letters. He specifically states this in Letters to Jactatus and Eugene.⁷⁹ We have already seen that he and Isidore dictated Letters in their mutual correspondence and ended with personal notes in their own hands.⁸⁰ The verb *dictare* is used by Braulio in reference to his preparation of the *Vita S. Aemiliani*⁸¹ but evidently in the sense of "to compose."

The amount of work done, however, by the scribes must not be overestimated, for we found Braulio admitting to Fructuosus that the works the latter requested, and they included his own *Vita*, were not to be found in duplicate copies in his library, nor did he promise to have them copied for him.⁸² The reason for this may well have been the expense attached to such an undertaking. The proof for that is drawn from a very valuable passage in Letter 14, which also informs us that parchment was the material used for transcribing and that it was scarce. The same passage also implies that Braulio sent his work out to a

⁷⁷ E. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, p. 180.

⁷⁸ Cf. W. Lindsay, "The Editing of Isidore's *Etymologiae*," *Classical Quarterly*, V (1911), 44, n. 2: "The evidence seems strong against the theory that dictation was ever practised in a monastery scriptorium. Silence was the rule there."

⁷⁹ Letter 9, *P.L.*, 80, 656 A: Citatim, ut occurrit, dictavi; vacet neglegentia si aliquid praeterivi. Letter 36, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 28: Nam neque spatum fuit inde cogitandi neque vacatio dictandi, et quod lingua depropensi, aliena manu exaravi, nec inde retractare occurrit.

⁸⁰ Letters 3, 4, 6, and 8. Cf. *supra*, p. 51.

⁸¹ Prefatory Letter to Fronimian, ed. Minguela, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 214: Quocirca dictavi, ut potui, et plano, apertoque sermone, ut talibus decet habere, libellum de ejusdem sancti vita brevem conscripsi, ut possit in Missae ejus celebritate quamtocius legi. Cp. Tailhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 242.

⁸² Letter 43, *P.L.*, 80, 691 D; Letter 44, *ibid.*, 698 A. For texts cf. *supra*, p. 76, and *infra*, p. 181.

monastery when he wanted it done well. Finally it gives us some of Braulio's rules for editing a work. The Letter is addressed to Fronimian, probably his brother, the abbot of the ancient monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla.⁸³

We are short of parchment and are therefore unable to send you any, but we are sending on money with which you can obtain some, if you order it. This commentary of the Apostle [Paul] which we are sending, read carefully first of all, then put in order, and, since it has the opinions of various commentators written in the margin, enter them in the body of the work, as you find them in harmony with the Catholic faith, and as the order requires, and write it out so carefully that the comments may follow along through each chapter, and so that the work itself be not scattered piecemeal through the pages as this one is, with the result that we have to write it again for ourselves after you.

⁸³ *P.L.*, 80, 661 A: Membrana nec nobis sufficient, et ideo ad dirigendum vobis deficiunt, sed pretium direximus unde, si jusseritis, comparare possitis. Istum Apostoli [Pauli] commentarium, quem direximus, diligenter legite prius, et in ordine constituete, et quia diversorum opiniones etiam ad aurem habet conscriptas, unumquodque ut fidei catholicae congruum esse perspicitis, et ordo se afferet, in corpore contexite, et ita diligenter conscribite, ut per singula capita commenta sequantur, et non per paginas divisum ipsum opus habeatur sicut istud est, ut iterum nos de vobis debeamus nobis retro scribere.—Cf. Tailhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 231, n. 1, 241-242; Pérez de Urbel, *op. cit.*, II, 203-204.

CHAPTER VII

THE SAINT

ASCETICISM—MONASTICISM—VIRTUES—DEATH—CANONIZATION

A MAN of great holiness with whom Saint Braulio was in immediate contact over a long period of time was Saint Eugene II of Toledo. He did not hesitate to call Braulio in a letter to him, “[*Dei*] *dono beatus.*”¹ It is the justification for such a tribute that interests us in this chapter.

ASCETICISM

St. Fructuosus, who seems to have known Braulio only by hearsay, addressed him with an exceptional title in a letter written shortly before Braulio’s death.² He called him “*Pater spiritualis.*” The title was deserved from a viewpoint of Braulio’s own life and the manner in which he taught others to live. Let us first study his design for living, as sketched in his writings, for one whom he himself would call “*homo interior ac spiritalis.*”³

A recent writer, Dom M. Alamo, has given us the first appreciation of Braulio’s spiritual doctrine.⁴ “One finds,” he writes, in referring to the Letters, “little treatises of spirituality, with

¹ Letter 35, ed. F. Vollmer, *M.G.H., Auct. antiq.*, XIV, 284: Inde per eum te precor, cuius dono beatus...esse probaris. Cf. H. Delehaye, *Sanctus (Sub. Hag. Boll. 17)*, Brussels, 1927, pp. 64, 69.

² Letter 43, *P.L.*, 80, 691 A: ...ab spirituali Patre coelestium divitiarum thesauris affluente exigui ejusdam talenti peto munus.

³ He so describes Isidore in a Letter to him. Letter 5, edited by Lindsay as Letter 4: (beginning of letter) Solet repleri laetitia homo interior ac spiritalis, quum inquisitione fungitur amantis.

⁴ “Braulio,” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, I, 1925-1926. The next few pages are heavily indebted to the article.

intimate effusions full of warmth and unction." The "little treatises" would be better called "indications" and the "intimate warmth" is too often encased in a forbidding formality. In this Braulio was a child of his times. "Two characteristics," continues Alamo, "which are found in nearly all Spanish ascetical writers, appear at first in the writings of Braulio: compunction and love of Christ." The former is exemplified in such a line as this from his *Hymn* in honor of St. Emilian:⁵ "Miserable and weeping, we confess our faults." An expression of the latter is found in Letter 18:⁶

Happy are those whose joy is God and whose rejoicing is in the blessedness of the future, whose sufferings and opprobrium are hidden with Christ and in the standard of his cross, as in an eternal triumph; let, then, all our love be directed towards him, all our service tend towards him, in order that our inward man may be consoled by him, who has suffered for us, and may he at no time or place desert us.

Compunction and love of Christ are found again in Letter 29:⁷

He rightly bewails the miseries of human life who expects that he will die each day and, hence, not so much the leaving of this world as the living with it, is saddening. Moreover, living so as to serve

⁵ *Hymnus de S. Aemiliano, Analecta hymnica*, 27, 125, v. 21: Culpas gementes pandimus miserimi. "The poet here turns to Christ, begs to be heard, and to have his sins forgiven. This thought prevails throughout the poem." Cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, p. 421.

⁶ *P.L.*, 80, 665 A: Felices quorum laetitia Deus et gaudium de beatitudine est futurorum, quorum cruciatus cum Christo et opprobia in crucis ejus vexillo, ut in aeterno recondantur triumpho; ergo in illo noster omnis dirigatur affectus, ibi omnis extendatur servitus, ut ab ipso sit interior homo noster consolatus, qui pro nobis est passus, et nos nunquam et nusquam relinquat solos.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 676 B, C: Humanae vitae miserias ipse rectius deplorat qui se quotidie moriturum exspectat, et ideo non tam transisse de mundo quam vixisse cum mundo luctuosum est. Porro, si ita vivitur ut Christo serviatur, mundum viciisse est, non cum mundo vixisse... Sed quia non est quod declinet hujus mali inevitabilem cruciatum, patienter tolerare necesse est quod evadere nullus hominum potest.

Christ, is to conquer the world, not to live with it. . . . But since there is nothing that can ward off the inevitable ordeal [death] of this evil, it is necessary to tolerate patiently what no man is able to evade.

It is noticeable, however, that compunction in the sense of sorrow for sins is rarely inferred; the necessity and inevitability of suffering is the dominant note. Witness these passages from Letter 13:⁸

You know well, my lord, that the monastic life is not lacking in penance, since it is so adapted to humility and daily sorrows, that in every walk of that life penance is no stranger. But you show better foresight if for your peace you do not lose the reward long sought, lest, while you wish to increase your merit, you find yourself acting the profligate. . . . And all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution (2 Tim. 3, 12). . . .

And again in Letter 14:⁹

Since every Christian, who after the manner of Christ lives a pious life, reaches the Kingdom of God by way of tribulation, does not this reminder of Christ's sorrows, returning each year [Good Friday], signify to us without a doubt that we should imitate Christ?

The details of such an imitation are described eloquently by Braulio in the fourth chapter of his *Life of St. Emilian*, where we are told that the progress of virtue in the heart must be felt in the body, and the joys of the one overshadow the hardship of the other. The chapter begins:¹⁰

⁸ *Ibid.*, 659 C, 660 A, B: Optime nosti, domine, vitam monasticam non egere poenitentia, dum ita sit humiliati et quotidianis tristitiis apta, ut in omni cursu vitae illius poenitudine non habeatur aliena, sed et melius prospicis, si mercedem tanto tempore conquisitam pro tua quiete non amittis, ne dum augere meritum vis, profligatum disperdere videaris... Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patientur...

⁹ *Ibid.*, 661 C: An quia omnis Christianus ad instar Christi pie in hac vita degens per vias pervenit ad regnum Dei tribulationes [onis], ideo haec admonitio tristitiarum rediviva anni conversione in Christo nobis significatur, ut Christus procul dubio imitetur?

¹⁰ *Vita S. Aemiliani*, ed. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 223:

He sought the heights [of the *Mons Dircetius*], and he stepped lightly up difficult ways, his spirit willing, so that not only in his heart, but in his body also, mounting by this valley of tears from virtue to virtue he seemed in a way to climb the ladder of Jacob.

From the quotations just recorded one can see the justification for Alamo's remark that "Like the spirituality of St. Benedict, Braulio's is above all Christocentric." His devotion to the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ is particularly noticeable.¹¹

Alamo likewise calls attention to the fact that Braulio distinguishes two degrees of sanctity, one for the generality of souls, and the other an extraordinary degree reserved for those upon whom God confers it. In the preface to the *Vita Braulio* writes, "All men ought to keep the general precepts, and only those will possess special gifts, upon whom God has willed to confer them."¹² In Chapter 23, where he is retailing the gifts of the saint, he returns to that distinction.¹³

Such a mode of acting is certainly that special gift, which we have found granted to few, and it ought to be tried by no one, lest danger be the consequence of his rashness. For before God each one remains in that vocation to which he has been called (1 Cor. 7, 20).

His spirituality advocates the opening of the conscience and subjection to spiritual direction; he quotes from the Scriptures:

Celsiora petit, levesque per ardua gressus agebat, spiritus promptus, ut non [ed. utnom] solum corde sed etiam corpore plorationis valle gradiens de virtute in virtutem, videretur Jacob quodammodo scalam concendere hic.
Cp. *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. VII.

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 102.

¹² Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 220: Nam generi generalia convenit praecepta servare, specialibus vero donis illi tantum debent potiri, quibus omnipotens jussit conferre.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 237: Hoc certe illud est speciale beneficium, quod paucis invenimus fuisse conlatum, et a nullo debeat experiri, ne succedat periculum temeritati. Unusquisque enim in qua vocatione vocatus est, in ea permanet ante Deum.

“ Confess therefore your sins one to another: and pray one for another (James 5, 16).”¹⁴ To Jactatus he expresses a desire of seeing him soon, “ so that speaking mouth to mouth we may be nourished by our mutual advice and enjoy in the Lord a desired tranquillity.”¹⁵ In Letter 18 to his sister Pomponia, he is so overcome with grief that he finds it impossible to console her and the nuns in her charge as a spiritual director should. The community has just lost Bishop Nunnitus, its spiritual director, and Braulio counsels his sister to console them in his stead.¹⁶

Justice and severity in superiors must be tempered by patience and kindness, as Letter 13 informs us at length.¹⁷ Patience is the cure recommended to the youthful Tajo after he has been hurt by Braulio’s words,¹⁸ and it is the secret of monastic perseverance.¹⁹

Alamo notes the following degrees of progress in the interior life :

¹⁴ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 692 D: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra, et orate pro invicem.*

¹⁵ Letter 9, *ibid.*, 655 C: *Unum quod aptum mihi, etsi, non efficaciter sentio, efficere tamen cupio, ut postulem communis Domini Redemptoris singularem et inexhaustam pietatem, ut tibi nobisque vitam socia felicitate largiatur, et commoditatem visendi nos tribuere dignetur, quatenus os ad os loquentes et mutuo sermone pascamur, et in Domino optata tranquillitate fruamur.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 664 C: ...linguae officium non sineret exercere amaritudinis vinculum; 664 D: *Ubi monachorum et monacharum refrigerium?* 665 B: ...per te consolentur sorores caeterae.

¹⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 660 B: ...tenenda est justitia, et praestanda clementia: odio habenda sunt peccata, non homines; tolerentur infirmi, corrigantur tumidi; etc.

¹⁸ Letter 11, *ibid.*, 657 A: *Salo mentis quateris, et procellosis tempestatis impatienciae jactaris, ita ut aequum sit dicere: Modicae patientiae, quare turbaris (Matt. 14, 31)? Atque utinam ita movereris ut ad humilitatem configeres, et non ad convicia et ad contumelias te converteres.*

¹⁹ Letter 13 to the abbot Fronimian, *ibid.*, 660 A: ...unde erit beata perseverantia, si defuerit patientia? Letter 44 to the abbot Fructuosus, *ibid.*, 693 C: ...tantum est, ut perseverantia vestra usque in finem per patientiam perducatur.

(1) Conversion by fear; (2) imitation of Jesus Christ especially in His Passion (*conversatio bona*); (3) a firm hope of future happiness and an intimate knowledge of the divine goodness and kindness (*spes dulcedinis*); (4) an outpouring of love by praise, thanksgiving, and contemplation (*divina contemplatio*).

This facile division is nowhere clearly drawn in the writings of the saint, nor does it appear to have been in his mind. The first degree is not explicitly stated in the writings. The second degree is clearly described in a passage of Letter 18 already quoted.²⁰ In the last chapter of the *Vita* we find the third step clearly expressed:²¹

This then is the lesson to be drawn, that the one and the same God of the Old and New Testaments, Our Lord Jesus Christ, 'who alone doth wonderful things' (Ps. 71, 18), hid the hope of happiness (*spes dulcedinis*) from those fearing him (Ps. 30, 20), from those who of old trembled with fear under the law, from those not yet confirmed in charity which casts out fear, because fear hath pain (1 John 4, 18): but now by the grace of faith he perfects those of good conscience who hope in him.

The fourth step is deduced from the following passage in Letter 23 to the Bishop of Valencia.²²

²⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 169.

²¹ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 243: *Est quidem in hoc considerandum, quod unus idemque Veteris et Novi Testamenti Deus Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui facit mirabilia solus, tunc sub lege timore pavidis, ne cum charitate firmatis, quae foris mittit timorem: quia timor poenam habet, abscondit spem dulcedinis timentibus se: nunc autem sub gratia fidei, conscientia fretis perficit sperantibus in se.*—Cp. Mabillon's edition, *P.L.*, 80, 714 A, B.—The third degree is also clearly expressed in Letter 34, *P.L.*, 80, 680 C: *Sed et me et te consoletur in Domino patientia et spes, ut et meliora speremus, et ea quae nobis superveniunt toleremus.*

²² *P.L.*, 80, 672 A: *Sed quoniam nil sine Creatoris nostri [an omission?] et disposito rerum moderamine credimus accidisse, ipsi recurrentes gratias retulimus, quantas cor nostrum potest et lingua dicere non potest. Nam quid melius et animo geramus, et ore loquamur, et stylo promamus, quam de eo gratias? Nec dici dignius, nec audiri brevius, nec cogitari laetius, nec intelligi vel agi fructuosius puto.*

But because we believe that nothing comes about save by our Creator's ordered direction of things, turning to him we render thanks as much as our heart can and our tongue can not express. For what could my mind think, my mouth speak, and my writing express, better than thanks to him? For I do not think anything is more deserving of utterance, is less tedious to hear, more joyful to think upon, more fruitful to understand and practise.

In admiration of Emilian, Braulio tells how the saint attained to a close union with God through a life of privation and fervent prayer in the wilderness.²³ Yet, as Alamo points out, Braulio did not believe that the interior life was hindered by serving one's neighbors. Saint Emilian under obedience left his seclusion for a time to labor in a diocese, where he displayed an ardent zeal for souls without giving up his ascetic practices.²⁴ When Abbot Fronimian writes of his determination to lay down his office and asks for advice concerning the appointment of a successor, Braulio gives the advice, but only after he has remonstrated with him very earnestly not to give up the care of his brethren. He should persevere in his office, suffering patiently the unpleasantness that arises from differences of character, disobedience, and sharp tongues rather than retire to a life of silence. His should be a rule of justice and kindness; sin is to be hated, not the sinner; the weak are to be borne with, the proud corrected. When troubles arise, "Christ is our courage and counsel; without Him we can do nothing and with Him, all things."²⁵

In concluding this consideration of Braulio's formal spiritual doctrine, we must decide that to speak of him as an ascetical writer is an exaggeration. There is a diffused spirituality in his writings, remarkable, one might say, for his times, but any formal asceticism, beyond traditional and commonplace observations, is not to be found. Very probably he has been spoken of

²³ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 659-660.

as an ascetical writer in the past, because of the imposing and lengthy paragraphs in his Letters devoted to the consoling of those who have been touched by death.²⁶

In teaching others how to live Braulio's contribution was precisely these consolatory Letters. Here asceticism is partially preached, as it has been by every Christian writer of consolatory letters, by a constant reference to the evil of this life as compared to the life hereafter. This sentiment is found in every paragraph of the ten Letters which are primarily consolatory, even in Letters 13 and 16 which were not occasioned by a death.²⁷ What consolation these Letters brought to the bereaved we can not say, but such Letters from a leading figure of the day, especially when they are imbued with the consolation inherent in simple Christian sentiment, always convey comforting hope, to high and low alike. The sentiment expressed in these Letters of Braulio is simple, almost to poverty, but it is over-adorned with rhetoric. It was the taste of the time. For us the consolation would be weakened by its ornate expression; the texture of rhetoric and rime has little warmth. Here is a portion of the Letter to the abbess Pomponia, who was his sister:²⁸

²⁶ "La plupart des lettres ne s'occupent que d'ascétisme." Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 10.

²⁷ Letters 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 28, 29, 30, and 34 are consolatory. Since only thirty-three letters in the corpus were written by Braulio, these constitute almost a third.

²⁸ Letter 18, *P.L.*, 80, 664-665: Uno vulnere confossus et multo dolore excruciatuſ, cum linguae officium non sineret exercere amaritudinis vinculum, et magis liberet flere quam loqui, ecce alia afflictio super afflictionem venit, et contritoſ super contritionem irruit, quomodo si quis fugiat a facie leonis, et occurat ei ursus; aut a percussu ſcorpionis ejulanti adjiciatur morsuſ colubri: ita me ſentio usquequaſ dejectum et contritionis miseria afflictum... id est, reverendaſ memoriae domini mei Nunniti epifcopi exituſ mihi existit exitiosuſ. Unde compressuſ quantulaconque emitto verba et gemitus. O quantum in hiſ duobus noſtriſ bonum perdidimus temporibus! quod lumen veritatis! quod exemplum bonae actionis; quantumque intercessum pro piaculis noſtriſ! Ubi nunc praesidium noſtrum quod in illis fuit apud Deum? Ubi miserorum refugium? Ubi ſuceptio peregrinorum? Vel ubi monachoruſ et monacharuſ refrigeriuſ? Vides

Pierced by one wound and tortured by much sorrow, when the bond of bitterness did not permit my tongue to exercise its function and I had rather weep than speak, behold another affliction came upon affliction and sorrow fell upon sorrow: just as if one fleeing from the face of a lion should encounter a bear, or as if one bewailing the sting of a scorpion should be bitten by a serpent, so do I feel myself downcast and afflicted by the misery of sorrow on every side [The death of his friend Bishop Nunnitus has followed that of his sister Basilla.] . . . the death of my lord Bishop Nunnitus has undone me. Overwhelmed by it I emit what words I can and sobs. Oh, what a great good has been lost to our times in these two! What light of truth! What an example of good action! What intercession for our sins! Where now is our protection before God that we had in them? Where is the refuge of the miserable? Where the harboring of strangers? Where the solace of monks and nuns? You see no doubt what I mean and am unable to say: I show only my emotion, for I cannot begin to speak good of them, knowing that even if I had eloquence and facility of expression coupled with an excellent memory I should have deemed it impossible for me to retell their holy deeds; but only, as I said, I show whereof I grieve and how great grief I suffer.

Not only is the sentiment expressed in these Letters constantly repeated, but the very expressions are also. The following sentence is found almost verbatim in five of the Letters.²⁹ “*Non est siquidem optimus consolator quem proprii vincunt gemitus.*” There is no indication of its being a quotation.

MONASTICISM

Braulio’s attitude toward monasticism is to be considered from the viewpoint of his ascetical teaching, rather than from that of personal practice, for Braulio was not a monk. Pérez de

tu procul dubio quid tangam, et quid explicare non valeam: affectum tantum ostendo, nam bonum eorum dicere nec incipio, sciens quia etiam si esset mihi sermonis copia et linguae gratia cum ingenii memoria, inexplicabile mihi fore existimaveram eorum refricare sanctissima gesta: sed tantum, ut dixi, demonstro quid moerar, et quantum moeroris in me patiar.

²⁹ Letter 15, *P.L.*, 80, 662 D; Letter 19, *ibid.*, 665 C; Letter 28, *ibid.*, 676 A; Letter 30, *ibid.*, 677 A; letter 34, *ibid.*, 680 C.

Urbel calls him one, but we can not speak of every product of a monastic school as a monk.³⁰ Even to speak of his brother John's school at Saragossa and Isidore's at Seville, both of which he attended, as monastic schools, is incorrect; they were rather episcopal schools.³¹ John, and perhaps Isidore, had been monks before they became bishops, but we have no proof that Braulio was.³²

An appreciation of his attitude toward monasticism is made difficult by the confused picture of monasticism in his time, a subject which has yet to be treated thoroughly by scholars. If the ingenious theory of Dom Lambert is to be accepted, Braulio was an ardent proponent of monasticism according to the *Rule* of John of Biclar.³³ In his opinion Braulio and his family were natives of the country around Gerona, where John of Biclar was bishop. The family was closely allied to John and his successor Nunnitus. Braulio's sister Pomponia remained near Gerona as abbess of a monastery which probably followed the *Rule* of John of Biclar. The famous monastery of the Eighteen Martyrs at Saragossa was established partly through the efforts of John of Biclar. His *Rule* was established there and John, the brother of Braulio, installed as abbot. Fronimian, a younger brother, was dispatched to the monastery of St. Emilian near Najera, where as abbot he established the *Rule*. Braulio, as bishop of Saragossa, encouraged his brother and sister, and undertook to write the *Life of St. Emilian* at the request of his brothers. He would, then, have become the propagator of the *Rule* at the monastery of the Eighteen Martyrs and at any other monas-

³⁰ J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 355.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 21.

³² Isidore may not have been a monk, but Séjourné's opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 9) that he led a quasi-monastic life from 586 to 600 seems sound.

³³ A. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 65-80.

teries within his diocese.³⁴ We have positive proof of everything in this hypothesis, except the certainty that the family was originally from Gerona, and that the Rule it fostered was the *Rule of John of Biclar*.³⁵

Now we must turn to the influence that Isidore had on Braulio. Braulio, we believe, spent about ten important years, from 610 to 620, with Isidore.³⁶ Isidore was a propagator of monasticism. He had composed a monastic *Rule* accommodating it, in the words of Braulio himself,³⁷ "to the usage of his country and to feeble souls." There is a considerable difference of opinion as to the influences that other monastic rules exerted on that of Isidore. Leclercq, Séjourné, and Le Bras believe Benedict was the principal source of Isidore's *Regula monachorum*,³⁸ with Caesarius and Cassian supplementing.³⁹ Lambert would seem to add John of Biclar,⁴⁰ and Pérez de Urbel would add John of Biclar, Pachomius, and Augustine.⁴¹ Garcia Villada sidestepped the problem.⁴² De Gaiffier points out that it needs

³⁴ There is a Monastery of Cogullada two miles north of Saragossa; Dom Lambert has been librarian there. M. Monmarché (*Espagne, Les guides bleus*, Paris, 1927, p. 117) records that the monastery was founded in 637, which would be during Braulio's episcopate (cf. *infra*, p. 221).

³⁵ "Les indices qu'il a recueillis jusqu'ici, ne sont pas décisifs mais autorisent à considérer cette hypothèse comme vraisemblable." B. de Gaiffier, "Bulletin," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933), 416.

³⁶ Cf. *supra*, pp. 24-27.

³⁷ In the *Praenotatio*, a catalog of Isidore's works. *P.L.*, 81, 16 C: Monasticae regulae librum unum, quem pro patriae usu, et invalidorum animis decentissime temperavit.

³⁸ *P.L.*, 83, 867-894.

³⁹ H. Leclercq, "Cenobitisme," *D.A.C.L.*, II, ii, 3220-3220; Séjourné, *op. cit.*, p. 84; G. Le Bras, "Sur la part d'Isidore de Séville et des espagnols dans l'histoire des collections canoniques," *Revue des sciences religieuses*, X (1930), 227.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, I, 243, 245-247.

⁴² Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, i, chapters 14 and 15. He is criticized for this negligence by B. de Gaiffier, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

further study.⁴³ M. Mähler admits no Benedictine influence in Spain before Fructuosus' *Rule* (650).⁴⁴ S. McKenna in a recent study feels that there are some very definite, if inconsiderable, traces of influence from the Rules of Benedict, Cassian, and Augustine.⁴⁵

Braulio was with Isidore when the latter wrote his *Regula monachorum* (615-618),⁴⁶ as well as during the time he wrote his *De viris illustribus* (615-618) in which John of Biclar is not described as one well known, and Benedict is not mentioned at all.⁴⁷ He was probably present at the Second Council of Seville (619) which in Canon 11 regulated monastic life for women.⁴⁸ He returned to Saragossa after the death of Bishop Maximus of that city in 619, whose epitaph he is alleged to have written, but this epitaph, in which he calls Maximus a Benedictine, is spurious.⁴⁹ While archdeacon at Saragossa, he wrote Isidore a letter, in which he asks him for a copy of the *Regula*. Isidore sent it to him, as Letter 2 (620-624) from Isidore to Braulio tells us.⁵⁰

⁴³ *Loc. cit.* Cf. also J. Schmitz, "Bénédictin (ordre)," *D.H.G.E.*, VII (Paris, 1934), 1071.

⁴⁴ Benoît," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité . . .*, I, 1412. The principal sources of this whole problem are summed up clearly by W. S. Porter, "Early Spanish Monasticism," *Laudate*, X (1932), 2-16, 66-80, 156-168.

⁴⁵ *The Monastic Rules of Visigothic Spain* (an unprinted master's thesis in the library of the Catholic University of America), Washington, 1935, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁶ For the dates see J. de Aldama, "Cronología de las obras Isidorianas," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 88, and Séjourné, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," *ibid.*, p. 222. Séjourné does not agree with De Aldama on the date of the *Regula monachorum*: "Il avait dû l'écrire longtemps auparavant, peut-être du vivant de son frère Léandre, alors qu'il était lui-même simple prêtre ou abbé d'un unique monastère,"—*Saint Isidore de Séville*, pp. 83, 84.

⁴⁷ *P.L.*, 83, 1106. Cf. *supra*, p. 16.

⁴⁸ Mansi, X, 560. Cf. Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 80, and *supra*, p. 107.

⁴⁹ Cf. *infra*, p. 251.

⁵⁰ Edited by Lindsay as Letter A: *Quaternionem regularum per Mauren-*

From 620 to 631 Braulio was assistant to his brother John in Saragossa. John, whatever the rule he propagated, made his monastery famous enough to attract Eugene from Toledo, and to be called after his death by Braulio “*communis ac sanctae vitae doctrinaeque institutor,*” and by Ildefonse “*pater monachorum.*”⁵¹ Braulio seems to have carried on the work of John. We find him corresponding with the abbots Fronimian, Tajo, Emilian, and Fructuosus, and with the abbess Pomponia. These letters number twelve, a third of his corpus. Fronimian is encouraged to continue his work at the monastery of St. Emilian, to fight against discouragement, and is given advice on how to treat the monks and how to select a successor.⁵² The letters to Tajo and Emilian do not touch on monasticism.⁵³ The letter to Fructuosus is one of encouragement for the work he is doing in western Spain, and of advice on the pitfalls to be avoided.⁵⁴ The letter to Pomponia is primarily one of consolation, with some advice on her relations with her *sorores*.⁵⁵

In none of the letters is there an indication of a religious rule to be followed. Fructuosus writes to him for a complete set of the *Collationes* of Cassian, as if there were no doubt about Braulio’s having them.⁵⁶ Braulio does not send them since he

tionem primicerium direximus. This may refer to a quire, or *cahier*, of some other *Regula*, but Ceillier (*Histoire générale . . .*, XI, 722) and Séjourné (*Saint Isidore de Séville*, p. 83) seem justified in believing it to be his. Gams (*Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, II, ii, 146) does not commit himself: “The *quaternio* is possibly a collection of monastic rules.” Leclercq (“*Bibliothèques*,” *D.A.C.L.*, II, 876) took it to be the *Liber regulae pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, as did R. Beer, *Handschriften-schätze Spaniens*, p. 14.

⁵¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 15, 57.

⁵² Letters 13 and 14, *P.L.*, 80, 659-662.

⁵³ Letters 11, 25-27, and 42.

⁵⁴ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 692-700.

⁵⁵ Letter 18, *ibid.*, 664-665.

⁵⁶ Letter 43, *ibid.*, 691 D: Specialiter tamen, domine mi, quod in hac regione, in qua degimus, non invenitur, supplex suggero ut pro mercede tua de Collectionibus Cassiani illumines monasteria ista . . . pusillitati nostrae

possesses but one copy.⁵⁷ In his *Life of St. Emilian* he compares the saint to St. Anthony and St. Martin.⁵⁸ Eugene may have written the poem *De admonendo monachos*,—and if so, it was while he was with Braulio,—in which three monastic fathers are held up for the edification of the monks; they are Paul, Anthony, and “John,” who may be the Baptist, John Cassian, John of Biclar, or Braulio’s brother.⁵⁹ From this evidence we may come to the conclusion, with Pérez de Urbel and De Gaiffier, that the custom at this time was for an abbot to borrow from various monastic rules, and that each monastery had its own particular observances.⁶⁰ This seems to have been the method which Braulio approved when he described Isidore’s *Regula* as “accommodated to the usage of his country and to feeble souls.”⁶¹

The fact that Braulio was a benefactor of his brother’s monastery of St. Emilian,⁶² and that he wrote the life of the saint and a poem in his honor can no longer be considered proof that he favored the Benedictine *Rule*. The contention of Yepès and Mecolaeta, which long found favor, that St. Emilian was a Benedictine is no longer countenanced.⁶³ What might be claimed is that the writing of a hymn for the office of the saint was a result

vestra largitate faciatis attribui... Septem Collationes... habemus. Reliquas decem,... et alias septem... minime habemus.

⁵⁷ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 698 A: His igitur pro vestra voluntate digestis codices quos vobis a nobis dirigendos mandastis, scriptos duplices non inveni.

⁵⁸ Edited by Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁵⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 15.

⁶⁰ Pérez de Urbel, “Los monjes españoles y la reconquista,” *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, 101 (1932), 96; De Gaiffier, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

⁶¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 178.

⁶² Braulio sent Fronimian money with which to buy writing parchment for the monastery. Cf. *supra*, p. 72.

⁶³ A. de Yepès, *Crónica general de la orden de San Benito*, I, chap. 2, *sub ann. Chr.* 569 and 574; D. Mecolaeta, *Desagracio de la verdad en la historia de San Millán de la Cogolla*, Madrid, 1724. Cf. also De Gaiffier, “La controverse au sujet de la patrie de S. Emilien de la Cogolla,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933), 315-316.

of Benedictine influence, since St. Benedict was the first to make hymns an integral part of the canonical hours.⁶⁴

A few references of Braulio to the subject of monasticism are worthy of note. He has a very clear idea of the importance of monastic perseverance and expresses it in pithy sentences such as "*Permanendum est in opere credito, et in labore suscepto,*" and the two quotations given above.⁶⁵ Letter 13 is almost entirely devoted to a sermon for monks on patience, perseverance, and dependence on God.⁶⁶ Because in Letter 14 he shows a desire to provide the monastery of St. Emilian with writing material, and because of the general tenor of all his Letters to the abbots Fronimian, Emilian, Fructuosus, and Tajo, it is quite apparent that he expects monks to devote some time to study and to the development of *scriptoria*.⁶⁷ He is not in favor of abbots being appointed who do not meet with the approval of their fellow monks.⁶⁸ Fructuosus speaks of his monks as "*concaptivi*" and "*compauperes;*" Braulio answering his letter calls them "*comperegrini*" and "*pauperes.*"⁶⁹

VIRTUES

Turning now to asceticism as Braulio lived it, our attention is first drawn to his faults. Although he taught the necessity of patience, he seemed to be singularly lacking in it. A reading of the Letters reveals a very great deal of complaining on his part. His impatience with Isidore over the completion of the *Etymologies* may be excused as good psychology; he appreciated the importance of the work and wanted it finished for the

⁶⁴ H. Leclercq, "Hymnes," *D.A.C.L.*, VI, ii (Paris, 1925), 2911.

⁶⁵ Letter 13, *P.L.*, 80, 660 B, and *supra*, p. 172.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 660 A-C.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 661 A, and Letters 11, 13, 14, 25-27, *Fragmentum epistolae*, 42-44, and the Prefatory Letter to Fronimian edited by Minguella.

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 143.

⁶⁹ Letter 43, *P.L.*, 80, 691 C, and 692 A; Letter 44, *ibid.*, 700 A.

good of mankind.⁷⁰ Very much of his restlessness is to be attributed to that fundamental principle of asceticism which consists in making this world distasteful and developing other-worldliness. Such is his purpose, for instance—and there are many similar cases—when he attempts to console Basilla on the death of her husband with the thought: “Behold daily the good migrate from the Church, and daily the bad increase, and the recession of the former saddens us no less than the succession of the latter.”⁷¹ Even in his day the good died young. The lamenting, however, which fills this Letter, and is so prominent in all his consolatory Letters, is not to be considered as pessimism, but is to be balanced with the note of spiritual hope to which it is a prelude in the same Letters.

But there is much complaining about the condition of the world and his own troubles in the other Letters. His criticism of the world in Letter 5 (632) may be explained by the turmoil that Sisenand's revolution entailed, for he led his army down to Saragossa before Swinthila abdicated (631).⁷² It was about the same time that the complaint was repeated in Letter 10 and elaborated.⁷³ Were it not that echoes are found in many other Letters, we might explain the jeremiad of Letter 24 as resulting from Chindaswinth's usurpation of the throne in 642.⁷⁴ When

⁷⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 47.

⁷¹ Letter 15, *P.L.*, 80, 662 B: (Notice the rimed cursus) Nam ecce quotidie migrant ab Ecclesia boni, et augentur quotidie mali, quorum non minus nos illorum defectus quam istorum contristat successus.

⁷² Edited by Lindsay as Letter 4 (towards the end): . . . quatenus cotidie fluctuantem animam malis tuo intercessu lucreris et ad portum aeternae tranquillitatis deducas, erutam a miseriis et ab scandalis. Cf. R. Altamira, “Spain under the Visigoths,” *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 175.

⁷³ *P.L.*, 80, 656 A.

⁷⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 673 A, B: Quibus tempestatibus procellisve vestram querimini conturbari quietem, eadem noscito me laborare molestissima vexatione. Quid enim poterit esse tutum his in quibus fines jam saeculorum devenient, ut nutante et senescente, ut ita dicam, mundo, et acerrimis aegritudinibus concusso, potius experiamur ejus morbis et lapsibus affici, quam quiete maturitatis et gravitatis refici? Sed recurrentum est ad Deum, . . .

Chindaswinth took his deacon Eugene away from him, Braulio's complaining was almost strident in his Letters to the king and a little later to Eugene.⁷⁵ And then there is the grievance of his health, a not unfashionable one, for we find Isidore indulging the same. Isidore was a much older man when he wrote Letters 1 and 6,⁷⁶ than Braulio lived to be. However, an expression such as "*acerrimis aegritudinibus concusso*" is a commonplace in Braulio's later Letters.⁷⁷ His eyes, in particular, bothered him to the point of complaining, and that other annoyance of the aging, a poor memory.⁷⁸

Braulio's pride, though of minor gravity, is displayed in his Letter 11 to Tajo, wherein, as a young man, he reproves in a rather superior manner Tajo's sensitiveness to his own corrections, and boasts of his knowledge, particularly of the classics.⁷⁹ Other indications of his vanity are his constant display of rhetoric and erudition in his Letters, and his occasional indifference, which we have noticed, to the rulings of the councils.⁸⁰ A lack of charity is noticeable in the same Letter to Tajo and in Letter 10 to Jactatus. He lectures the latter on charity in a rather uncharitable manner.⁸¹ It is evident, however, in both Letters, particularly the latter, that we have here the bantering of friends. Another possible fault, noted earlier in this study, was an apparent attempt to ingratiate himself with the powerful

⁷⁵ Letters 31 and 33, *P.L.*, 80, 677-679, and Letter 36, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

⁷⁶ Edited by Lindsay as Letters B and 5.

⁷⁷ Cf. Letter 24 above n.

⁷⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 138. Also Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 687 A: *Ut litteris tuis illico non responderem diversarum me arctatum fateor fuisse necessitatum, eminentius tamen aegritudine oculorum et variarum afflictione infirmatum; . . .* Letter 44, *ibid.*, 697 B: *. . . est mihi memoria facilis ad obliviscendum.*

⁷⁹ *P.L.*, 80, 657-658.

⁸⁰ Cf. *supra*, pp. 64, 114, 143.

⁸¹ *P.L.*, 80, 656.

abbot Emilian of Toledo.⁸² Finally, he may be accused of severity in advising a heavy punishment for those deacons who through ignorance took it upon themselves to bless holy chrism.⁸³

Turning to Braulio's virtues, we find the most striking one in his writings to be humility. He practices it, at least verbally, far more than he preaches it;⁸⁴ however, it is difficult to estimate the practical application of a virtue, which it was the literary style in his day to profess. His description of himself as, "*Ultra omnes homines peccator,*"⁸⁵ was an exaggeration in accordance with the taste of the time. He goes on from there to tell us in many letters that any good he does, and any knowledge he shows, is attributable to God; evil and ignorance are his own.⁸⁶ A less formal profession of the virtue is found in his not infrequent habit of commending his work and decisions in matters intellectual to the corrective judgment of his correspondents, men who are in every case his inferiors.⁸⁷ To find, at the end of his lengthy study of a problem presented, the sentence, "Let him affirm this who can; I can only confess my ignorance in the matter," is to find the man behind the rhetoric.⁸⁸ The best proof, however, of sincere humility is, per-

⁸² Cf. *supra*, p. 73.

⁸³ Cf. *supra*, p. 94.

⁸⁴ We find him preaching it to Tajo in Letter 11, *P.L.*, 80, 657 A: *Atque utinam ita movereris ut ad humilitatem confugeres.*

⁸⁵ Letter 44, *ibid.*, 700 A.

⁸⁶ Letter 22, *ibid.*, 671 C, D: *Si quid dignum dixi, donum Dei est; ... si autem est in his dictis quod displiceat rationi meum est non Dei.* Cf. also Letter 23, *ibid.*, 672 B; Letter 36, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 284; Letter 40, *P.L.*, 80, 686 A; Letter 42, *ibid.*, 687 B, C, D; Letter 44, *ibid.*, 692 B, C, D; 697 D; Preface to the *Vita*, ed. Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁸⁷ Letter 14, *P.L.*, 80, 661 D: *Vestrum est inde si quid melius probaveritis eligere, atque si qua offenderint, vestro judicio aut corrigere, aut amputare.* Cf. also Letter 36, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 285; Prefatory Letter to Fronimian, ed. Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁸⁸ Letter 42, *P.L.*, 80, 689 D: *Affirmet hoc qui valet; ego autem fateor me hoc ignorare.* Again in Letter 36, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 285: *Ecce quod videtur nescientiae meae, et pro modicitate capacitatis nostrae nec affirmans nec spernens omnino ista suggessi.*

haps, the display of meekness and apology he showed, when reproved by the alien bishop, Wiligildus, for ordaining a fugitive monk contrary to the canons.⁸⁹ He would seem to have deserved King Receswinth's praise of his humility: "It is customary for a wise man to consider himself ignorant, lest he seem to become proud under the stimulus of arrogance."⁹⁰

Braulio's charity also stands out in his writings, but to no heroic degree. One writer has described him as distinguished for his charity to the poor, but there is no foundation for the tribute in the evidence available, unless we assign to him some part in the formation of Chindaswinth's laws in favor of the poor and slaves.⁹¹ His consolatory Letters are all marks of charity, to be sure, and the best proof that he possessed this virtue. In his Letter to Tajo he expresses the desire to keep his critical pleasantries from becoming mordant.⁹² His charity takes a practical turn in Letter 16, where we find him sending a copy of the Scriptures, prepared for another, to the Lady Apicella, who in sorrow at the death of her husband had sent for the consoling words of the Bible.⁹³ In Letter 19 Braulio would seem to be anxious to relieve the sorrow of the bereaved Hojo and Eutrocia by having the young Hermenfredus sent to him for a visit during the period of mourning.⁹⁴ Distressed in his

⁸⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 63.

⁹⁰ Letter 41, *P.L.*, 80, 686 B: Moris est enim sapientum ignarum se judicare, ne per arrogantiae stimulum videatur elationem incurriere.

⁹¹ *Espasa*, s. v. "Braulio." Cf. *supra*, p. 137.

⁹² Letter 11, *P.L.*, 80, 657 D: Sed dum studemus et charitati servire, et te non amittere, omittimus cuncta, nec aliquod risu dignum inserimus, ne habeat ingratos fabula nostra jocos, secundum Ovidium, ac secundum Appium caninam videamus exercere facundiam. (The classical allusions are treated *supra*, p. 162.)

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 633 B: Siquidem alii fuerat hic Codex conscriptus, tamen quia petitionem vestram offendere non potuimus, vobis eum misimus. Cf. *supra*, p. 84.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 666 D: Hermenfredum nunc ad me remittite, ut viso me ad vos debeat redire. Cf. *supra*, p. 83.

Letter 14 to Fronimian because he can not supply the monastery of St. Emilian with writing parchment, he sends money instead with which to buy it.⁹⁵ In the same letter, and in others, we find him supplying individuals and institutions with products of his *scriptorium*.⁹⁶ It must have been the accumulation of many such acts of charity that led the monk of the far West, Fructuosus, to praise him for his good works.⁹⁷ A treatment of the subject would be incomplete without a reference to the beautiful passage in Letter 10 wherein an exchange of gifts with the priest Jactatus leads him to clothe with symbolism of Christian charity the gifts of bread, wine, oil and olives.⁹⁸

* * * * *

As we review the fragmentary evidence that these pages have produced, we certainly are not justified in looking upon Braulio as a figure of heroic proportions. But to be outstanding one needs only to overshadow one's contemporaries, and Braulio did this. Though he is not a really great man to us looking back over the ages, he was that in his own age and to his own people. As he has left us our best description of the great Isidore,⁹⁹ so did a contemporary of Braulio leave us a last word on him.¹⁰⁰ It was probably in 651, the year of Braulio's death, when "there was but a short space of time left to me,"¹⁰¹ that St. Fructuosus

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 661 A: Membrana nec nobis sufficiunt, et ideo ad dirigendum vobis deficiunt, sed pretium direximus unde, si jusseritis, comparare possitis.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*: Istum Apostoli commentarium, quem direximus... Letter 43, *ibid.*, 690 D.

⁹⁷ 690 D: ...florens per dies singulos vestri culminis vita tanto affluit divinae legis studio, quanto et bonorum operum jugi atque sedulo vallatur praeconio.

⁹⁸ Text and translation *supra*, p. 124.

⁹⁹ In the *Praenotatio*. Cf. *infra*, p. 218.

¹⁰⁰ The eulogy of Braulio which Pérez de Urbel ("Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 445) ascribes to Tajo, was meant by the latter for Gregory the Great. Cf. *P.L.*, 80, 725 C.

¹⁰¹ Letter 44, Braulio's answer to Fructuosus. *P.L.*, 80, 693 B: ...quia in longum non est mihi temporis spatium.

wrote Letter 43 to Braulio containing the eulogy that enables us to appreciate the better his stature in the eyes of his contemporaries.¹⁰²

To my own lord, the bishop Braulio, Fructuosus, ever your humble servant.

We know from Sacred Scripture how pleasing to a man is good news from a distant land (Prov. 25, 25), and what better news could we hope to hear, than the love of Christ, the spotless profession and propagation of the Catholic Church, the pure lives of the friends of God and the priests of Christ, their successful work, and their faithful doctrine? These, most blessed Father, we confess to yearn vehemently and eagerly to hear.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 690 C, D, and 691 A, B: *Domino meo proprio episcopo, Fructuosus exiguus, semperque tuus.*

Scripturae sacrae textu narrante didicimus quam sit gratus homini de longinqua terra nuntius bonus, et quis (*MS* et quia) qualisve alius melior nuntius nobis est exspectandus quam Christi dilectio, quam catholicae Ecclesiae intemerata professio atque propagatio, quam amicorum Dei sacerdotumve Christi sincera vita, felix actus, doctrinaque fidelis? Haec nos desiderare vehementer atque sitienter agnoscere cupere, Pater beatissime, confitemur.

Hic solus nuntius arentia mentis nostrae saepe viscera pascit, et vestrorum felicitate gestorum inter raucisona spumantis sali freta, atque Oceani gurgites, et aequora inquieta humilitatis nostrae mulcet auditus, quod Caesaraugustam vestram vestra jugis augusta doctrina nobilitat, et florens per dies singulos vestri culminis vita tanto affluit divinae legis studio, quanto et bonorum operum jugi atque sedulo vallatur praeconio.

Ob hoc indesinenter Regi et conditori nostro Domino referimus laudes, quod mundi jam termino propinquante tantus talisque pontifex existis, qui et vitae merito, et docendi praeditus beneficio, apostolica per omnia vestigia consecutaris, percepturus cum his ineffabilem supernae patriae gloriam, quorum in hac tempestate mundana incorruptam ipse sequeris vitam. Temerarium fortasse arripiens opus piissimam vestram praesumo salutare coronam, atque eodem quo cupimus salutis vestrae nuntio vestrorumque sacrorum apicum indicis reficiamur, oramus. Mendicans ipse vestrarum mensarum dapibus residua micarum fragmina posco, atque ab spirituali Patre coelestium divitiarum thesauris affluente exigui cujusdam talenti peto munus, quod ut accipiam, importunus petitor nocturni temporis spatia vigilo; et licet negligens, tamen quaerens peto, et pulso, atque ut indigno ac vilissimo tuo aperias quae ignoro, tribuas quae non habeo, sanctorum Dei, quorum solatiis confovemur, fultus adminiculis quaero.

This news alone feeds the arid interior of our mind and with the success of your deeds soothes our humble ears here amid the raucous breakers of the spuming flood, and the whirlpools of the Ocean, and the restless seas, the news that your constant sublime teaching ennobles your Saragossa, and, flowering through the days of your apogee, your life abounds as much with a zeal for the divine law as it is fortified with the constant and sedulous preaching of your good works.

Wherefore, unceasingly we give praise to our King and Creator, the Lord, what with the end of the world now approaching, that you, so great a bishop, exist, who endowed by merit of life and richness of doctrine follow the apostolic traces in all things, and are now about to receive the ineffable glory of the supernal fatherland with them, whose stainless life you follow in this stormy world. Undertaking a bold task, perhaps, I presume to salute your Sanctity [*v.T.L.L.s.v. corona*], and, in the same message in which we desire news of your health we pray that we may be refreshed with specimens of your sacred writings. Begging I ask for the left-over fragments of crumbs from the banquets of your tables, and from a spiritual Father, abounding in the treasures of heavenly wisdom, I seek a gift of some small talent, and that I may receive it, I keep the watches of the night like an importunate petitioner; and, although negligent, yet seeking I ask and I knock (cf. Luke 11, 5-9), and relying on the help of the saints of God whose aid we enjoy, I seek that you may open to your unworthy and humble friend what I do not know, and grant what I do not have.

DEATH

Braulio, in the last of his Letters, answered Fructuosus. "Daily," he wrote, "I hope for an end to the sickness of my mortality."¹⁰³ The end soon came, for he died in the year 651, how and where, we can not say. Tradition has it that he died on March 18, the day now observed as his feast in Spain, but this feast was not established until the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁴ In the

¹⁰³ Letter 44, *P.L.*, 80, 698 B: *Verumtamen aegritudini mortalitatis meae quotidie spero finem.*

¹⁰⁴ *AA. SS. Martii t. II, 637; Espasa, s. v. "Braulio" (bis).*

Roman martyrology the day of his death is observed on March 26, due, says Antonio, to a mistake on the part of Truxillo.¹⁰⁵

The year only is certain, for it can be established from the literary epitaph of Braulio, which was written a few years after his death by St. Ildefonse, metropolitan of Toldeo (*ob.* 667), in his *De viris illustribus*.¹⁰⁶ This distressingly short notice, which merits Dzialowski's stricture,¹⁰⁷ tells us that Braulio was a bishop nearly twenty years when he died, and that his episcopal tenure endured during the reigns of Sisenand, Chintila, Tulga, and Chindaswinth. We have established that Braulio succeeded his brother John as bishop in the year 631 under King Sisenand.¹⁰⁸ This fact is sufficient proof that the year of his death must be 651, but to explain the conflicting opinions of many writers more must be said.

If these writers had only noticed that Braulio carried on a correspondence with King Receswinth, although Ildefonse does

¹⁰⁵ N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus, apud P.L.*, 80, 648 C: Dies S. Braulionis festus agitur XVIII Martii in Caesaraugustana Ecclesia, uti nos docent Aragonenses ipsi (Carrillo, *Hist. de S. Valero, y catálogo de los prelados de Zaragoza*, p. 231), non XXVI ejusdem mensis, ut per errorem primus scriptum reliquit Thomas Truxillus qui et errare fecit Baronium, hic autem Pseudo-Luitprandusque demum Joannem Tamaium, ut notatur in *Synopsis historica* jam laudata, n. 20.—The moment is fitting to quote Antonio's next sentence also: Plura addunt nostri historici de regio Braulionis sanguine, miraculis in electione et obitu; sed quae vetustatis fundamento deficiuntur.—M. Alamo (*loc. cit.*) makes the later feast celebrate his *translatio* (cf. *infra*, p. 195).

¹⁰⁶ G. von Dzialowski (*Isidor und Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker*, p. 144) gives us the text with notes. It is chapter 12 of *De viris illustribus* and may be found in *P.L.*, 96, 203. The text *apud* Dzialowski: Braulio frater Ioannis in Caesaraugusta decedentis adeptus est locum, vir sicut germanitate coniunctus, ita non minimum ingenio minoratus. Clarus iste habitus canoribus et quibusdam opusculis. Scripsit vitam Aemiliani cuiusdam monachi, qui et memoriam huius et virtutem illius sancti viri suo tenore commendat pariter et illustrat. Habuit sacerdotium ferme viginti annis; quibus expletis clausit diem vitae praesentis. Duravit in regimine temporibus Sisenandi, Chintilae, Tulganis et Chindasvinthi regum.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 30.

not record that Braulio lived during his reign, they would have avoided the mistake of placing his death anterior to 651. Hence, Braulio's death need not be dated anterior to the year of Receswinth's accession as co-ruler, and, therefore, not 646, with Mabillon, the *Acta sanctorum*, Ceillier, the *Espasa*, Bonilla y San Martín, Vollmer, and Bishop. The problem is one of regal chronology. Chindaswinth died in 653. Some years before, at the instigation of Braulio, he associated his son Receswinth with him in power. Authorities, following the indication of the chronicle, *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana*, for many years believed the year in which Receswinth was associated in the kingship was 647.¹⁰⁹ They now agree with Fita that the year should be 649.¹¹⁰ It is a mistake, however, to think that this year marks the beginning of Receswinth's reign, properly so called. It is true that he is king, as Braulio's Letters 38-41, written after that date, testify. But to at least one contemporary namely Ildefonse in his *De viris illustribus*, it continued to be the reign of Chindaswinth, until the latter's death in 653. Almost all authorities to-day, including the Bollandists, accept 651 as the year of Braulio's death. There is one notable exception. Ballesteros y Beretta in his *Historia* gives March 18, 653 as the date, following an interesting supposition of Fita.¹¹¹ Fita made a study of the Lapida de Guadix, an old Roman stone used as an altar in the Church of the Holy Cross at Guadix. The church was consecrated on May 13, 652, during the pontificate of Justus, according to an inscription on the stone.¹¹² Fita then reasons in this

¹⁰⁹ Ed. Vollmer, *M.G.H., Auct. antiq.*, XI, 343: Huius temporibus in era 685 (647 of the Christian era), anno regni Saracenorum XXX, regnante in eis Atthoman anno VII, Chindas Reccesuintum licet flagitiosum, tamen bonimotum filium suum regno Gothorum proponit ...

¹¹⁰ A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, I, 493.

¹¹¹ I, 568, n. 60. He gives the year 657 in another place (I, 547); apparently a mistake.

¹¹² F. Fita, "Lapida de Guadix," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 28 (1896), 404, 407. The inscription is found in E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianaæ*, no. 175.

wise. Justus died after that date and before December 16, 653, when his successor, Julian, signed the acts of the Eighth Council of Toledo. The name of Tajo, Braulio's successor, appears in the oldest manuscripts after the name of Julian in the subscriptions to the Council. Believing the names were subscribed according to age in the episcopacy, Fita decides Braulio died after Justus. Since we know Braulio died on March 18, it must have been the year 653. Inasmuch as Ildefonse says he completed almost twenty years in the pontificate, he became bishop in 633. Fita should have noticed that Braulio was sixteenth from the end in episcopal subscriptions to the Fourth Council (December 5, 633), which would have made his episcopate one of more than twenty years, contrary to the testimony of Ildefonse. Fita's mistake is in depending too much on the order of subscription to the councils. A comparison of councils proves that a rigid order of temporal precedence was not observed. For example—and there are others—James of Mentesa followed Braulio in signing the acts of the Fifth Council, but preceded him at the Sixth.¹¹³

CANONIZATION

The name and memory of Braulio had to wait centuries for the honors of canonization. The Visigothic Church was reluctant to assign such honors to its great ecclesiastics.¹¹⁴ Manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries never referred to St. Isidore, even, or to St. Ildefonse as saints.¹¹⁵ Isidore was not inscribed in the Spanish martyrology until the end of the eighth century.¹¹⁶ Braulio was not even mentioned with these two in the liturgies of the Mozarabic rite. Elipandus, the primate of Spain at the end of the eighth century, does not mention Braulio

¹¹³ Mansi, X, 643, 657, and 671.

¹¹⁴ P. Séjourné, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 236.

¹¹⁵ E. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, p. 66.

¹¹⁶ Séjourné, *loc. cit.*

by name when speaking of "the holy venerable fathers . . . Isidore, Eugene, Ildefonse, Julian, and the rest."¹¹⁷ In the lay investiture struggle of the eleventh century, he is quoted as a bishop, Isidore as a saint.¹¹⁸

Braulio's cult was established about 1200. A manuscript of the year 1272, entitled *De revelatione beati Brauli*, preserved in the archives of the Church of Nuestra Señora Merced del Pilar in Saragossa, relates that St. Valerius appeared in a vision to Archbishop Peter of Saragossa in the twelfth century and ordered him to seek the body of Braulio at the threshold of the Church of the Blessed Mary, whence it was to be taken inside of the church to a more fitting place.¹¹⁹ The body was found in an urn covered by a flagstone with a ring and crozier identifying

¹¹⁷ E. Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, VIII (1906-1907), 285.

¹¹⁸ M.G.H., *Libelli de lite*, I, 566.

¹¹⁹ The original is unedited. The text is found, however, in another manuscript of the fourteenth century, the MS. lat. 2277 of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Cf. Hagiographi Bollandiani, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Biblioteca nationali Parisiensi* (*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, 1328), I, 107: "De revelatione beati Braulii episcopi Caesaraugustani in limine ecclesiae beatae Mariae jacentis (fol. 32v-33r). Apparitio S. Valerii Petro archiepiscopo Caesaraugustano, jubentis corpus S. Braulionis in ecclesiam transferri et honestiori loco collocari. Cf. *España Sagrada* 30, 168, n. 56-58."—An unreliable transcription of the original text in Saragossa was edited, though not made by F. Fita, "El templo del Pilar y San Braulio de Zaragoza. Documentos anteriores al siglo XVI," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 44 (1904), 425-437 (cf. supplement of 1911 to *Bibl. hag. lat.*, p. 60). It is reproduced in the *Boletín eclesiástico de Zaragoza*, June, 1904. The facts we reproduce in our text are based on Fita's work. An editing of the Pilar or Paris manuscripts may change them. Cf. A. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 70.—There is a rare Spanish work of the seventeenth century, which is probably an adaptation of the Pilar manuscript: *Relación breve de la vida del Beato San Braulio, obispo de Zaragoza, de la invención de su cuerpo en el Pilar*, Saragossa, 1630.

it.¹²⁰ Miracles followed.¹²¹ A fabulous life was then written about the saint, and by its legends his cult was adorned throughout the centuries.¹²²

Pérez de Urbel calls false and fabricated the manuscript which relates the finding of his body; there seems to be no reason why he should.¹²³ The Bollandists and Lambert accept it, though the latter points out that the transcription by which the document is best known is untrustworthy.¹²⁴ This transcription was published under the name of Fita in 1904, but perhaps the fault lies with those collaborators in Saragossa whom Fita mentions at the head of his article.¹²⁵ The centuries-old tendency to promote the glory of the Church of the Pilar in Saragossa, and St. James the Apostle's alleged connection with it, has confused the facts in this posthumous chapter of the life of Braulio.¹²⁶ Nowhere in his works does Braulio give support to the traditions of the Pilar, or of St. James' apostolate in Spain.¹²⁷ He may have been buried in an ancient church dedicated to Our Lady, which later became the Pilar, but there is no proof for it.¹²⁸ Breviaries and missals, using traditions and the fabulous life, have added to the confusion, with the result that authors have

¹²⁰ Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 427. We may doubt that the body was his. Cf. J. Pérez de Urbel, *Los monjes españoles en la edad media*, I, 361.

¹²¹ There are two parts to the manuscript of Saragossa as given in Fita's article, the first describing the finding of the body in the twelfth century (pp. 426-427), and the second describing the miracles that followed in the thirteenth century (pp. 427-434).

¹²² In the fourteenth century MS. lat. 2277 of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Cf. *supra*, p. 7.

¹²³ "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 450. He may have confused it with the fabulous life.

¹²⁴ "Une transcription fantaisiste." *Op. cit.*, n. 21.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

¹²⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

¹²⁷ Cf. Fita, *op. cit.*, pp. 425, 446-452; García Villada, *Historia . . .*, I, i, 69-73.

¹²⁸ García Villada, *loc. cit.*

been giving conflicting testimony on Braulio's place of burial, and on the place and date of the *inventio* and *translatio* of his body.¹²⁹ A solution of the problem, if one can be had, will depend on a more extended treatment than can be provided here.

The only ancient reference to relics of St. Braulio is found in a manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia in Madrid.¹³⁰ The manuscript came originally from the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, and records that one of the two churches under the supervision of the monks, San Millán de Yuso (built c. 1067), possessed *Reliquie sancti Braulii*. Loewe and von Hartel dated the codex as of the twelfth century. De Gaiffier says it is of the thirteenth century.¹³¹ This reference to Braulio's reliquies strengthens somewhat the latter's contention.

His remains to-day are said to be preserved under the main altar of the Pilar. A chapel in the basilica is dedicated to him, and a statue in his honor is found in La Seo, the cathedral of the city of Saragossa.¹³²

¹²⁹ Fita and García Villada (*loc. cit.*), following the faulty transcription of the Pilar manuscript say that these events took place in the Church of Santa María la Mayor. Pérez de Urbel (*Los monjes . . .*, I, 361) agrees. The *Espasa* (*s. v.* "Braulio") gives the common tradition that he was buried under the altar of St. James in the Pilar, where his remains were discovered in 1290 and transferred to the main altar. The *Acta sanctorum* follows a tradition that his body was revealed in 1270 and transferred to the high altar on July 19. Alamo (*loc. cit.*) says the *translatio* took place about 1275. Risco (*loc. cit.*) by giving the dates 1270, and 1272-1278, has influenced many of the later writers.

¹³⁰ MS 24, formerly F188. The reliquies are mentioned on f. 155v.

¹³¹ B. de Gaiffier, "Les reliques de l'abbaye de San Millán de la Cogolla au xiii^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 90, 91, 99.

¹³² Cf. plan of the church in *Espasa* *s. v.* "Pilar," and *ibid.* *s. v.* "Zaragoza" (p. 1060).

PART TWO

WRITINGS

CHAPTER VIII

THE LETTERS AND THE PRAENOTATIO LIBRORUM D. ISIDORI

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE LETTERS—CONTENTS—CHRONOLOGY— STYLE—PRAENOTATIO

THE importance of Braulio's Letters has been manifest throughout the first part of this study. His Letters, few though they are, constitute our principal source for a study of the intimate social life, civil as well as ecclesiastical, of Visigothic Spain at its apogee. They are also a source of primary value for a study of the various sciences, particularly ecclesiastical, of his day. To the Middle Ages any one of Isidore's compendious works was of paramount value. To us the familiarity and occasional originality of a Letter of Braulio may be said to possess a greater value.

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE LETTERS

The corpus of Braulio's Letters contains forty-four Letters and a *Fragmentum epistolae*. Of these thirty-two were written by Braulio; the rest were written to him. The corpus does not include Braulio's Letter to Fronimian which prefaces his *Life of St. Emilian*,¹ nor Redemptus' Letter to Braulio on the death of Isidore.² The corpus does not include all the letters that Braulio wrote, for those it does contain indicate that some have been lost.

With the exception of the first eight Letters, the corpus was unknown until the eighteenth century. The first eight Letters

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 222.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 51.

constitute the correspondence of Braulio and Isidore. Because they deal to a great extent with the genesis of the *Etymologies*, they are found in most of the manuscripts of that work as a preface, and are so edited by Lindsay in his edition of the *Etymologies*.³ The rest of the Letters came to light in the following way. About 1775 the Augustinian Manuel Risco took up the work of Henrique Florez as editor of the monumental *España sagrada*.⁴ In gathering material for volume 30, he received from Canon Carlos Espinós of the Leon Cathedral a copy of Braulio's complete corpus of Letters as found in a manuscript of the chapter-house attached to that church. It is our unique source for the corpus and is still preserved in the chapter-house as Leon MS 22.⁵

Before discussing the manuscript, we shall record the subsequent history of the Letters. From the copy by Espinós, Risco edited the entire corpus as Appendix 3 to volume 30, in which volume he gave us what is still the only lengthy treatment of the life of Braulio.⁶ This edition is the only one ever made of the Letters and was incorporated by Migne in his *Patrologia*.⁷ Authorities, and particularly Lambert, are agreed that the copy by Espinós was a good one, but that a new critical edition is necessary.⁸ Some of the Letters have been re-edited. Lindsay has given us a critical edition of the first eight, but he should

³ W. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispanensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, pages unnumbered.—C. Clark (*Collectanea hispanica*, p. 161, and plate 26) has given us a reproduction of parts of Letters 2 and 3 as they are found in the ninth century Leon MS 21.

⁴ H. Florez, *España sagrada*, 51 vols., 1747-1879; vol. 30, 1775, 2nd ed. 1859.

⁵ F. Vollmer, without further explanation, writes that the manuscript is now number 21. Cf. *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina*, *M.G.H.*, *Auct. antiq.*, XIV, pp. xl, xlvi.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 318-400.

⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 649-700.

⁸ A. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 66; J. Pérez de Urbel, "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 452.

have relied more on this Leon manuscript of the corpus for his readings. Vollmer has given us a critical edition of Letters 35 and 36.⁹ When Fidel Fita was engaged in writing his long article "El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza," he became dissatisfied with Risco's edition of Letter 21 and re-edited it.¹⁰

There is an eighteenth-century copy of the Leon manuscript, which is found in the library of the Escorial.¹¹ This copy is not the one sent to Risco by Espinós, although it may have been another one made by him. The copy used by Risco is probably the one now preserved in Leon as Leon MS 20.¹² No other copy is known.

The Leon MS 22, because of the rare pieces it contains, is in great need of minute study.¹³ Fita, Beer, Vollmer, Garcia Villada, and Millares Carlo have given us some information on it.¹⁴ It is a miscellaneous codex of parchment containing 156

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 283-286.

¹⁰ Cf. *La Ciudad de Dios*, IV (1870), 184-189; his edition of the Letter is also found in *Suplementos al concilio nacional Toledano VI*, pp. 27-33 with comments on Espinós' copy pp. 6-7. Cf. A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, I, 546, and n. 160 (p. 570).

¹¹ Codex J.II.10. Title: sancti braulionis Epistolae ineditae ex praestantissimo ac pervetusto M. S. codice Gottico sanctae ecclesiae Legionensis. In this copy Letters 9 to 44 occupy folios 1 to 104; Letters 1 to 8 follow immediately, with the title: Sanctorum Isidori Hispalensis episcopi et Braulionis caesaraugustani epistolae aliquot iam editae nunc exscriptae ex M. S. codice Gothicu sanctae ecclesiae Legionensis. For further details see W. von Hartel and G. Loewe, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Academie, Philos.-Histor. Classe*, 111 (1886), 497 (reprinted separately in 1887 under the same title; cf. I, 83-84), or G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, II, 479-483. The exact pagination of each Letter is found conveniently in H. Grubbs, *A Supplement to the Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal*, p. 48.

¹² Z. Garcia Villada, *Catálogo de los códices...de la catedral de León*, p. 52.

¹³ Lambert, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

¹⁴ F. Fita, "El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza," *La Ciudad de Dios*, *passim* in vols. 4 (1870), 5 (1871), and 6 (1871); R. Beer and

folios, the work of various copyists.¹⁵ It is generally dated as of the ninth century, a date which has been arrived at, it would seem, not so much from a study of the script, as from the fact that it contains as the latest entry the acts of the Council of Cordova held in 839. Since it is the work of various hands, not as yet thoroughly studied, it is possible that parts of the manuscript are older. From evidence external to the manuscript, we know that the codex was bequeathed to the monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian near Leon by its founder and first abbot, Cixila, in 927.¹⁶ The monastery was founded as a refuge for Mozarabic monks who had been driven out of southern Spain by persecutions.¹⁷ Identification marks in the manuscript are as follows: folio lv. *Samuel librum*; f. 15r. *Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani sum liber*; ff. 33v-34r. *Samuel librum ex Spania veni*; f. 90rb. *Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani sum liber in territorio legionense in flumen Toriu in ualle Abeliare ibi est monasterium fundatum. . .*¹⁸ The authorities mentioned have decided that Samuel was a Mozarabic monk of the monastery.¹⁹ *Ex Spania*

D. Jiménez, *Noticias bibliográficas de los códices de la santa iglesia catedral de León*, p. 23; Vollmer, *Neues Archiv*, 26 (1900), 397; Z. García Villada, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-56, and *Historia eclesiástica de España*, III, 222-223; A. Millares Carlo, *Paleografía Española*, I, 149.

¹⁵ The various works contained in the codex are listed in H. Grubbs, *The Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal*, pp. 63-64. The *Epistolarium* occupies folios 38va-88vb (García Villada, *Catálogo . . .*, p. 54). For an example of the Visigothic minuscule in which the Letters are written see García Villada, *ibid.*, plate 8 and especially plate 21 in his *Paleografía Española*, vol. II, *Album*, no. 18.

¹⁶ E. Díaz-Jiménez, "Immigración mozárabe en el reino de León. El monasterio de Abellar o de los Santos Mártires Cosme y Damián," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XX (1892), 123-151.

¹⁷ L. Serrano, "Abellar," *D.H.G.E.*, I, 95.

¹⁸ García Villada, *Catálogo . . .*, p. 56. There is no evidence in García Villada, to whom he refers, for Pérez de Urbel's statement ("Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 452): "The manuscript was transcribed during the ninth century by different copyists whose names may be read among the folios."

¹⁹ García Villada, *Historia . . .*, III, 223.

veni is interpreted rightly to mean that the manuscript was brought out of southern, or Mohammedan, Spain into northern, or Christian, Spain. Abeliar is Abellar, the suburb of Leon in which the monastery was situated.

The manuscript identifies two possessors, first a certain Samuel, and later the monastery. Wishful thinking, prompted by a desire to push back the date of at least one part of this manuscript, forces one to call attention to an interesting parallel. Some of the refugee monks came from Toledo.²⁰ Would Cixila and his monks of Abeliar have emigrated from the famous Toledan monastery of Agalia which was also dedicated to Saints Cosmas and Damian, and had as its last known patron, Archbishop Cixila of Toledo (774-783)?²¹ This monastery was, from a cultural viewpoint, closely related to Braulio and his times. And what of Samuel? The name is not a common one, save among the Jews of the time.²² There was a Samuel, Bishop of Iria, in 633, and a Samuel, Bishop of Malaga, 681-688.²³ But of more tempting interest is the information that Tajo, the student, friend, and successor of Braulio in the see of Saragossa (651-683), speaks of himself as being "*cognomento Samuel*."²⁴

The inferences to be drawn from such parallels are, of course, extremely tenuous. It will be noted, for instance, that, although the *Epistolarium* is distinctly separate from some entries in the manuscript that demand a later date,²⁵ the identification marks are not found on the folios which contain the Letters. On the other hand, a study of the contents of the *Epistolarium* gives reason to think that this unique collection of Braulio's Letters,

²⁰ Serrano, *loc. cit.*

²¹ L. Serrano, "Agali," *D.H.G.E.*, I, 872.

²² S. Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*, pp. 34, 81, 146, 163.

²³ P. Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae*, pp. 25, 49.

²⁴ *P.L.*, 80, 727 B. Pérez de Urbel (*San Eulogio de Córdoba*, Madrid, 1928, p. 148) formerly thought Samuel to be a ninth-century monk.

²⁵ M. Gómez Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de León*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 153-154.

or, more exactly, the original from which it was made, was the work of Braulio himself, or one exceptionally close to him, such as Tajo.²⁶

CONTENTS

In the opinion of Lambert the collection of Letters is in no sense an historical one, but was meant to be a manual of epistolary style. The many familiar epistles, *epistolae consolatoriae*, found in it were included as "examples of that beautiful Visigothic style, which his contemporaries so admired and of which he was considered a master."²⁷ Pérez de Urbel repeats this opinion and elaborates on it.²⁸ He believes the manual was made up at Saragossa in the reign of Receswinth (649-672) and that "it served as a model for the copyist of the ninth century." The collector, he writes, used only a part of the complete *regestum* of Braulio's Letters, and arranged them logically rather than historically.²⁹

We distinguish clearly two parts: that which makes known to us the intimate and familiar life of Braulio, and that which presents him to us intervening in the affairs of Church and State. Unhappily in the printed text one can not see this division, because the order of the manuscript has been arbitrarily altered.

It is impossible to agree with Lambert and Pérez de Urbel. These Letters, just as they are in the Leon MS 22, must have been arranged by Braulio or a very close friend. They are arranged, as we shall see clearly in a few pages, with almost chronological perfection. It is very unlikely, moreover, that the collector intended to provide a manual of epistolary style, for we would then expect to find a few copies made by contemporary

²⁶ According to Clark (*op. cit.*, p. 65) no manuscript in the Visigothic hand which we possess antedates 750, with one questionable exception.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 452.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

admirers, or, at least a few references in the works of others to the contents of the collection.³⁰ There is no sign of distribution; the *Epistolarium* is a unique manuscript leading one to believe that the author himself made the collection out of pride or a realization of their historical value. Only the author, or one at his bidding, could have arranged them in such perfect order, for the order betrays a knowledge of when they were written that no one else could possess, especially in the dark days subsequent to Braulio's death.³¹

The presence of a careful order is characteristic of Braulio. Though inclined perhaps in his personal effects to be disorderly,³² the greatest single trait of his scholarship was a natural aptitude for treatment of the problem before him. Isidore wisely left him the task of putting the *Etymologies* in order. Braulio introduced the work with the correspondence that passed between him and Isidore on the subject of the *Etymologies*. His eulogy of Isidore was deferently added to the latter's *De viris illustribus* and the catalog of Isidore's works contained in it is praised by scholars to-day for its chronological exactness.³³ With remarkable method for his time, he is careful to repeat a correspondent's question, and if there is more than one, each in turn, before he introduces his solution with a phrase like "*Hucusque propositio, ab hinc solutio.*"³⁴ When he quotes from an authority he signifies the reference with clarity, being very careful to tell

³⁰ The only reference that has come down to us is the one to Letter 21, Braulio to Pope Honorius, found in the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana*. Cf. *supra*, p. 128.

³¹ There is a possibility that Braulio left a date attached to each Letter. This is unlikely, however, due to the accumulated evidence of these pages, and, particularly, the fact that neither Letters 1-8 in the manuscripts of the *Etymologies*, nor Letters 1-44 in the Leon MS 22, carry any date.

³² Cf. *supra*, p. 150.

³³ Cf. *infra*, p. 217.

³⁴ Compare Letters 35 and 36, ed. Vollmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-286, and Letters 43 and 44, *P.L.*, 80, 690-700; for the quotation cf. col. 694 C.

the reader when he is omitting paragraphs or pages from the original.³⁵ In the *Vita S. Aemiliani* he gives his sources for the life of the saint, and submits it before publication to competent authorities for verification.³⁶ The careful order of the Letters, then, bespeaks the methodical hand of Braulio.

Moreover, the collection proves that Braulio must have kept copies of his Letters, or, at least, of the more important ones, and this is another tribute to his sense of order. It is most unlikely that even he could have secured, towards the end of his life, copies of Letters that he had sent out years before to Seville, Rome, Toledo, and possibly southern Gaul. Nor could they have been found among the collected letters of Eugene, Tajo, and the others. It is true that all of his Letters are not to be found in this collection. Letters 4 and 11 tell us of two Letters that are lost, but they were early Letters and seemingly of little import. He saved not only copies of his own Letters, but likewise those sent to him. Letters 10 and 30 indicate that some of these are lost, but again their value does not seem to be great. All the important Letters, of which we have any knowledge, to him and by him are present in the collection with the exception of Redemptus' letter to him on the death of Isidore, and that this letter was addressed to Braulio has been questioned.³⁷ Indeed, its absence could argue that it was not sent to Braulio.

According to the Risco edition Letters 40, 42, and 44 have lacunae, and one, the *Fragmentum epistolae*, is but a small part of the original. Another was found in Letter 23. No one of the lacunae seems to amount to any great loss. We can not tell at what stage of the tradition of the text these faults came about. Everything that is missing in the *Fragmentum epistolae* seems to be repeated in Letter 42, Braulio's answer to it. Since the *Fragmentum epistolae* was written by Tajo, might we suspect that

³⁵ This is most remarkable in Letter 44, *ibid.*, 695.

³⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 228.

³⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 51, n.

he, as the original editor or owner of the collection, caused the deletion? In Letters 1, 14 and 25 slight corruptions of the text are evident.

CHRONOLOGY

The strongest reason for believing that Braulio was the editor of these Letters is the remarkable chronological order in which they are found. It would seem that he first placed in the collection his correspondence with Isidore, Letters 1-8, covering the years *c.* 620-*c.*636. These Letters he had already formed into a chronological unit prefacing the *Etymologies*. To them, it appears, he now added all his correspondence with others; these Letters became numbers 9-44 covering the years *c.* 630-651. For convenience the Letters are here arranged in a chronological chart. The two Letters in parentheses are not in the corpus. Thirty-one Letters, well scattered throughout the corpus, are reliably dated. Dates of the rest, signed with an asterisk, have been arrived at by the position that the Letter holds in the corpus and by the Letter's salutation, which indicates, though not always with certainty, that the Letter was written during Braulio's episcopacy (631-651) or prior to it.³⁸

Letter	1	Isidore to Braulio	<i>c.</i> 620
"	2	Isidore to Braulio	* 620-624
"	3	Braulio to Isidore	625
"	4	Isidore to Braulio	" 632
"	5	Braulio to Isidore	632
"	6	Isidore to Braulio	632
"	7	Isidore to Braulio	632
"	8	Isidore to Braulio	634-636
(Redemptus to Braulio on the death of Isidore)			636
Letter	9	Braulio to Jactatus	<i>c.</i> 630
"	10	Braulio to Jactatus	* <i>c.</i> 630
"	11	Braulio to Tajo	* <i>ante</i> 631
"	12	Braulio to Floridius	* <i>c.</i> 632

³⁸ The arguments for dating those Letters without asterisks may be found earlier in this work. The correspondence with Isidore is treated at length in chapter ii, and the rest in chapter iii.

" 13	Braulio to Fronimian	* 632
" 14	Braulio to Fronimian	<i>post</i> 636
" 15	Braulio to Basilla	c. 633
" 16	Braulio to Apicella	* 633-634
" 17	Braulio to Wiligildus	* 633-634
" 18	Braulio to Pomponia	634-635
(Braulio to Fronimian prefacing the <i>Vita</i>)		636
Letter 19	Braulio to Hojo and Eutrocia	* 635-638
" 20	Braulio to Hojo and Eutrocia	* 635-638
" 21	Braulio to Honorius	638
" 22	Braulio to Eutropius	640
" 23	Braulio to the Bishop of Valencia	640-646
" 24	Braulio to the Bishop of Valencia	640-646
" 25	Braulio to Emilian	* 641-646
" 26	Emilian to Braulio	* 641-646
" 27	Braulio to Emilian	* 642-646
" 28	Braulio to Ataulfus	* 642-646
" 29	Braulio to Gundesvinda and Agivarius	* 642-646
" 30	Braulio to Wistremirus	* 642-646
" 31	Braulio to Chindaswinth	646
" 32	Chindaswinth to Braulio	646
" 33	Braulio to Chindaswinth	646
" 34	Braulio to Nebridius	* 646-647
" 35	Eugene to Braulio	647
" 36	Braulio to Eugene	647
" 37	Braulio to Chindaswinth	648
" 38	Braulio to Receswinth	649-651
" 39	Receswinth to Braulio	649-651
" 40	Braulio to Receswinth	649-651
" 41	Receswinth to Braulio	649-651
<i>Fragmentum epistolae</i> , Tajo to Braulio		649-651
Letter 42	Braulio to Tajo	649-651
" 43	Fructuosus to Braulio	651
" 44	Braulio to Fructuosus	651

The only Letter which is not in its proper chronological place is Letter 14. The editor either thought it better to keep the Letter beside Letter 13, since it was the only other one addressed to the same person, or, in arranging the Letters about 651, failed to notice that this fifteen-year-old Letter could be more definitely dated by an allusion in it to the death of Isidore (636).³⁹

³⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 72.

Braulio's title describing himself in the salutations of the Letters has given some trouble. One is tempted to think that his title of "*servus inutilis sanctorum Dei*," with which he usually opens his Letters, was adopted at the time of his elevation to the episcopacy. If this were so, then Letter 3, which has fairly strong claims to the year 625,⁴⁰ would have to be dated 631. On the other hand, Letter 9, which is without the title and from indications seems to have been written before his elevation, has one passage in it that might indicate that he is already a bishop.⁴¹ Letter 14 is without the title, although he is certainly bishop at the time; however, it seems to be addressed to his brother. Letters 19 and 20, addressed to his relatives Hojo and Eutrocia, are also without the title. Finally Letter 22 to Bishop Eutropius, which from its contents indicates with certainty that Braulio was a bishop, its without the title.

STYLE

The latinity of Braulio would require a special study. Only a few remarks on his style can be attempted here. His writings bring proof to Lot's contention that the writings of this period in Spain are useless for a study of the difference between spoken and written Latin.⁴² There is nothing popular about his language. Even his vocabulary does not reflect the popular speech. He seems to use few if any words that are not found in the works of his predecessors. He wrote a highly artificial literary Latin loaded down with rhetorical ornament. Leclercq says that like all the Latin of contemporary writers in Spain Braulio's is pretentious to the point of bad taste.⁴³ In this he is correct rather than Pérez de Urbel, who writes that Braulio's

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 44.

⁴¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 77.

⁴² F. Lot, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi*, VI (1931), 109-110.

⁴³ H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 298, 326-329.

language is "facile and correct, wherein one does not yet see appear those ornaments of bad taste, which slipped into Spanish literature at the end of the seventh century."⁴⁴

Braulio's bombastic style was the vogue, and his mastery of it was the envy of his contemporaries.⁴⁵ Following the taste of the period he is constantly striving for cursus and rime in his *cola*. His sentences become lengthy and involved, and frequently obscure.⁴⁶ There are nevertheless rather frequent examples of beautiful writing in Braulio. Whether or not such passages are borrowed from other authors would be revealed by a detailed study of his language. One finds occasionally amid verbose passages cluttered up by the exigencies of contemporary style a beautiful thought such as this one taken from a consolatory Letter.⁴⁷

Quid in longum trahor? Fluvius mortalitatis stare non potest: currit et secum nos trahit. . . . Venit ad hanc etiam Salvator; tamen ipse hujus torrentis turbulentissimam amaritudinem ut biberet ait: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem (Matt., 26, 38). Hoc ille pro nobis, non pro se dixit.

Nor is Braulio always wordy. There are a great number of aphorisms in his Letters, many of them cited in this work, which possess the thoughtfulness and simple skill of the following:⁴⁸

Grandis in sua pietas impietas in Dominum est.

⁴⁴ "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 445.

⁴⁵ Letter 32, Chindaswinth to Braulio, *P.L.*, 80, 678 C: Suggestionem eloquentiae vestrae verbis florentissimis adornatam, cunctisque euphoniis verborum succinctam, quam ad nostram clementiam tua curavit sanctitas transmittendam, suscepimus, in qua per lucubrationem tuorum verborum studio nobis datur intellegi, . . .

⁴⁶ At the end of his longest Letter he wrote: "Ecce dum nescit amor ordinem, plus oneravi epistolam meam sermone quam utilitate;" cf. Letter 44, to Fructuosus, *P.L.*, 80, 699 A.

⁴⁷ Letter 29, *P.L.*, 80, 676 C.

⁴⁸ Letter 20, *ibid.*, 667 A. Cf. *supra*, pp. 98, 111, 176, 182 and *infra*, p. 230..

THE PRAENOTATIO

Closely associated with the first eight Letters, the correspondence with Isidore, is Braulio's eulogy of Isidore and list of his writings.⁴⁹ Although very brief in content, it contains valuable information for the history of letters. It consists of a biographical notice on Isidore and, what is of far greater importance, a carefully drawn up catalog of Isidore's works. Its purpose is well defined by the most familiar of the titles given to it, that of *S. Braulionis Caesaraugustani episcopi praenotatio librorum D. Isidori*.⁵⁰ Braulio himself apparently did not give any name to the little work. He refers to it by saying that he added "ista" to the *De viris illustribus* of Isidore.⁵¹ These notes are always found in manuscripts together with the *De viris illustribus*. The catalogs of manuscripts are not explicit in the matter, but evidently in some manuscripts at least the notes of Braulio bear the title *Vita Isidori*.⁵² Cajetan in 1606 pointed out that several editors had adopted that title. He found others who used *Praenotatio librorum D. Isidori a Braulione Caesaraugustano episcopo edita*.⁵³ Whether or not this title also occurs in the manuscripts we have not ascertained. It was taken over by Arévalo for his edition and is the one now commonly used.

To students of the period the work is exceptionally well known and it has been the object of much study.⁵⁴ Because of the

⁴⁹ *P.L.*, 81, 15-17, or 82, 65-68.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*—It has other names: *Vita*, *Annotatio*, *Catalogus*, and *Laudatio*. It is not to be confused with the *Abbreviatio*. Cf. *infra*, p. 213.

⁵¹ *P.L.*, 81, 16 C: *De Viris Illustribus librum unum, cui nos ista subjunximus.*

⁵² So the Toledan manuscript without number cited by Hartel, *op. cit.*, 112 (1886), 735, and the MS Ottobonianus 849 cited by Arévalo, *P.L.*, 81, 21 D. Anspach (*op. cit.*, p. 56) who has seen the manuscripts always speaks of the work as the *Vita*.

⁵³ Cited by Arévalo, *P.L.*, 81, 18 C.

⁵⁴ The commentaries of F. Arévalo, J. Pérez, C. Cajetan, and M. de la Bigne, along with comments of many earlier authors, are found together

manuscript tradition principally, there has been almost complete unanimity in ascribing the work to Braulio.⁵⁵ In the *Praenotatio* itself there is no direct evidence that he is the author; his name is not mentioned. There is, however, strong indirect evidence for the ascription. The author states that Isidore had turned the "imperfect" *Etymologies* over to him, since the work was written at his request, and that he himself had divided it into twenty books.⁵⁶ From Braulio's correspondence with Isidore we know that this person could be no one other than Braulio.⁵⁷ The date of composition can not be determined more definitely than to say that it was written after Isidore's death (636) and Braulio's editing of the *Etymologies* (637),⁵⁸ and before the latter's death (651). It is reasonable to suppose, as is generally done, that it was written about 637.

The manuscript history of the *Praenotatio* is that of the *De viris illustribus*. There are many manuscripts of the work and a thorough study of them has not yet been completed. At one time P. Lehmann was preparing an edition of the *De viris illustribus* for the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, which never appeared. W. Smidt took over the task, but after many years was still unable to see the end.⁵⁹ From what information is

in *P.L.*, 81, 17-27. For an English translation and commentary see E. Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, pp. 23-25. For a French translation and commentary see P. Séjourné, *Saint Isidore de Séville*, pp. 41-47.

⁵⁵ For one exception see *P.L.*, 80, 645, note b, and 81, 22-23.

⁵⁶ *P.L.*, 81, 16 D: Etymologiarum codicem nimia magnitudine, distinctum ab eo titulis, non libris: quem quia rogatu meo fecit, quamvis imperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in viginti libros divisi.

⁵⁷ Cf. *supra*, pp. 39-41.

⁵⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 49.

⁵⁹ *Neues Archiv*, 44 (1922), 125, 132. Cf. also the helpful article by H. Koeppler, "De viris illustribus and Isidore of Seville," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), 20 and n. 2.

already available on the manuscripts of the *De viris illustribus*,⁶⁰ we are able to deduce the following data on the *Praenotatio*. The work is never found apart from the *De viris illustribus*. It is always appended to Isidore's work and yet not so integrally as to lose its own identity and become the last chapter of the *De viris illustribus*. A catalog in which the latter work is described will usually, following the manuscript itself, read "*De viris illustribus cum Braulionis praenotatione*," or words to that effect.⁶¹ In one manuscript, at least, another work separates the two.⁶² The union of the two was so loose that Arévalo in editing the works of Isidore did not hesitate to divorce the *Praenotatio* from the *De viris illustribus* and place it at the head of the *Opera omnia*.⁶³ Dzialowski in reprinting and studying the text of the *De viris illustribus* omitted the *Praenotatio*.⁶⁴

With this we come to a troublesome document called commonly: *Abbreviatio Braulii Caesaragustani episcopi de vita sancti Isidori, Hispaniarum doctoris*. Despite the misleading word, *Abbreviatio*, it is the original *Praenotatio* of Braulio lengthened to twice its size by interpolations that are considered

⁶⁰ For manuscripts in Spain see the two catalogs of H. Grubbs, *The Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal*, and the Supplement to the same. For manuscripts outside Spain see C. Beeson, "Isidor-Studien," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, IV, ii. Koeppeler (*op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23) and E. Anspach (*Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, pp. 56-59) are useful.

⁶¹ Cf. F. Arévalo, *Isidoriana*, chap. 80 (*P.L.*, 81, 561, and especially 563 A and B): *Liber Isidori de viris illustribus*. Editiones hujus libri, mss. exemplaria. Cf. also Koeppeler, *op. cit.*, p. 23, and Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

⁶² W. von Hartel, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte . . .*, 112 (1886), 735. The manuscript is a fifteenth century Toledan codex, now in the Biblioteca nacional of Madrid. It was unnumbered in von Hartel's time.

⁶³ In Arévalo's edition the *Praenotatio* is found prefacing the entire edition (*P.L.*, 82, 65-68), and again with notes in the *Isidoriana* (*P.L.*, 81, 15-17).

⁶⁴ G. von Dzialowski, *Isidor und Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker*.

by all to be the work of a later hand, or hands. No manuscript of it antedates the thirteenth century,⁶⁵ and it is never found with the *De viris illustribus*. The Bollandists edited the *Abbreviatio*, along with the *Praenotatio*, as it was found in a codex of Toledo which was numbered 29.⁶⁶ Arévalo reprinted this edition, placing the interpolations conveniently in parentheses.⁶⁷ It is clear from the text that the *Abbreviatio* was composed as a sermon in honor of St. Isidore.⁶⁸ Its date of composition has been considered generally to be the thirteenth century,⁶⁹ and its author Lucas of Tuy, although Arévalo pointed out, as Anspach notes, that Martin of Leon used it in the twelfth century when he composed a sermon in honor of Isidore.⁷⁰

Recently E. Anspach, who has spent much of his life studying Isidorean manuscripts, attempted to show that the *Abbreviatio* is an eighth century work.⁷¹ His collaborator, Garcia Villada, accepted this dating.⁷² B. Altaner seems to be far more judicious in doubting it. He is suspicious of such an early reference to the evangelization of Spain by the Apostle James.⁷³ Anspach in his study was interested in establishing a thesis, namely, that works which he had found were lost works of Isidore. An early dating of the *Abbreviatio* would strengthen this thesis, since the *Abbreviatio* lists in its catalog of Isidore's writings, works that are not found in the *Praenotatio*. To

⁶⁵ E. Anspach, *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, p. 56.

⁶⁶ *Acta sanctorum, Aprilis tom. I*, pp. 349-351.

⁶⁷ *P.L.*, 82, 53-56.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 56 C: Interea, fratres charissimi, dignum est . . .

⁶⁹ So P. Séjourné, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 47.

⁷⁰ *P.L.*, 81, 27 C; Anspach, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁷¹ *Loc. cit.* Cf. *supra*, p. 38.

⁷² Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 184.

⁷³ B. Altaner, "Der Stand der Isidorforschung," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, p. 8.—Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-64: . . . beatus Isidorus in Hispaniarum partibus doctrina Jacobo successit apostolo.

facilitate and strengthen his stand, Anspach has given us a critical edition of the *Abbreviatio*.⁷⁴ In Anspach's edition the division of the *Etymologies* is described as being divided into fifteen books, instead of the twenty which are found in the old edition of the *Abbreviatio*, and in the *Praenotatio*. He likewise holds that some manuscripts call for the reading "fifteen" instead of "twenty" in the *Praenotatio*.⁷⁵ Taking pains to show that the gestation of the *Etymologies* produced various divisions of the books from seven to twenty-nine, and that a division of fifteen was current in the middle of the eighth century, he then dates the *Abbreviatio* at that time.⁷⁶ He does not point out that such reasoning would require the *Praenotatio*, which he considers to be authentically Braulio's, to be dated at that time also, or treated as an interpolated document, since he believes Braulio's original partition to have been in seven books. If the conclusions that we have arrived at in the second chapter of this study are accepted, we are forced to say that Anspach's explanation of the genesis of the *Etymologies*, and of its early editions in seven and eight books, is materially weakened.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-64. Anspach seems to have confused *P.L.*, 81, 53, and 82, 53, because of the similarity in reference. The variants to his edition of the *Abbreviatio* under the letter "M" refer to the *Life of Isidore* by Martin of Leon in *P.L.*, 81, 53, and not to the *Abbreviatio* which is in *P.L.*, 82, 53.

⁷⁵ The problem of the number of books into which Braulio divided the *Etymologies* is an old one. Although manuscripts of the *Praenotatio* and the *Abbreviatio* commonly give twenty as the number, there are manuscripts, particularly of the latter, which vary the number. Many of them give a division into fifteen books. Arévalo (*P.L.*, 81, 316-318) discussed the problem and decided against Pérez Bayer in favor of a division into twenty books.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 64-69, and 45-56.

⁷⁷ Cf. *supra*, pp. 39-50. Anspach is wrong, for example, when he considers one of Braulio's editions of the *Etymologies* to be the subject under discussion in the Braulio-Receswinth correspondence, a correspondence which we consider to have dealt with the *Forum judicium*. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 23-27, and *supra*, p. 139.

After offering this earlier date for the *Abbreviatio*, Anspach proceeded to identify works, which he had found in manuscripts, with titles of works attributed to Isidore in the catalog of the *Abbreviatio*, titles which are not found in Braulio's catalog of the *Praenotatio*.⁷⁸ This brings us to a closer study of the contents of both documents.

The *Praenotatio* of Braulio is one-third eulogy and two-thirds catalog. There are seventeen works of Isidore listed, the contents of each being explained in a sentence. Immediately we notice a marked superiority in Braulio's work, to that of Ildefonse, who, writing his *De viris illustribus* about twenty-five years after the *Praenotatio* was published (637), devoted a chapter to Isidore composed of a eulogy and catalog of his works, which is one-third the size of the *Praenotatio*; his catalog contains eight works, all previously mentioned by Braulio.⁷⁹ The wording of his catalog implies that his list is complete, whereas Braulio ended his list of seventeen with the words: "There are many other smaller works by Isidore, and some inscriptions."⁸⁰ Such an "escape-clause" at the end of his catalog, a device that was used frequently by writers of literary history, has been a source of temptation to scholars ever since it was written. It is a natural sequence that anonymous works, and works of little-known authors, and *florilegia* from authentic works of a man like Isidore, should gravitate during the course of centuries to a great name like his, and be "discovered" as some of the "*opuscula alia*" of that prolific writer. Because of this tempta-

⁷⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 69-166.

⁷⁹ Chap. IX, Dzialowski, *op. cit.*, p. 140 (or *P.L.*, 81, 27). Dzialowski (pp. 149-152) praises Braulio and criticizes Ildefonse for his brevity. Cf. also Brehaut, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁸⁰ *P.L.*, 81, 16 D: Sunt et alia ejus viri multa opuscula, et in Ecclesia Dei multo cum ornamento inscripta.—Séjourné (*op. cit.*, pp. 43, 47) offers an explanation of why Braulio would have omitted works now ascribed to Isidore.—Beeson (*op. cit.*, p. 139) is slightly perturbed because the *Versus Isidori* are not mentioned in the *Praenotatio*.

tion, it is reasonable for one to look askance at the *Abbreviatio*, which one hundred, or five hundred, years later appeared with Braulio's catalog intact and seven more titles added to his list. With the years both the eulogy and the catalog of the original had grown.

It would seem that Isidore's catalog will never be completed. Arévalo's edition of his works devotes 271 columns of compressed type, in the Migne reprint, to works doubtfully ascribed to him.⁸¹ Books are being written, such as those of Séjourné and Anspach, to make more secure for Isidore the attribution of works which are mentioned in the *Abbreviatio*. From time to time it is announced that some lost work of Isidore has been found.⁸² Certainly no such endeavor is to be treated with disdain, but there is danger that the fundamental value of a carefully arranged catalog, such as that of Braulio, will be overlooked.

It must be said that so far the *Praenotatio* seems to have received only praise from scholars. Braulio's care in drawing up the catalog of Isidore's works is acclaimed by all for its comprehensiveness and especially for its chronological order. Every scholar who has studied the catalog has decided that Braulio was observing that order carefully. Dzialowski believed that every work was in chronological order, except the *De viris illustribus*.⁸³ Schütte and De Aldama seem to have refuted this opinion.⁸⁴ Séjourné believed the *Regula monachorum* was mis-

⁸¹ *P.L.*, 83, 1107-1378. He also gave many other works attributed to him, which Migne has printed under the names of other authors.

⁸² For works recently attributed to Isidore see Anspach, *loc. cit.*; *idem*, *Rheinisches Museum der Philologie*, 67 (1912) 557-563; Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, II, ii, 282-289; Altaner, *loc. cit.*

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

⁸⁴ F. Schütte, *Studien über den Schriftstellerkatalog des hl. Isidor von Seville*, Breslau, 1902, p. 142. Schütte himself was somewhat disturbed by the chronological order at the end of the catalog (*ibid.*, pp. 144-146). J. de Aldama, "Cronología de las obras Isidorianas." *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 64, 85.

placed in the list.⁸⁵ De Aldama seems to have disposed of his difficulty.⁸⁶ De Aldama, in turn, thinks that the *Etymologies* is the only one of the seventeen works out of place.⁸⁷ We believe that the treatment of the *Etymologies* earlier in this study proves that Braulio was right in listing this work last, or as Ildefonse testified of Isidore, “*Scripsit quoque in ultimo ad petitionem Braulionis Caesaraugustani episcopi librum Etymologiarum.*⁸⁸

The first and last sentences of the *Praenotatio* are devoted to biographical indications of Isidore. Between them and the heart of the work, which is the catalog, are laudatory remarks about him.⁸⁹ These few passages are the only ones which have been subject to any criticism.⁹⁰ Since we have had occasion throughout this study to use the indications found in this eulogy, we shall confine ourselves here to one closing observation. The long quotation which Braulio borrows from Cicero's description of Varro in order to describe the works of Isidore is from the *Academica posteriora*, I, 3.⁹¹ Braulio altered the text slightly so that it might be applied to a Christian. The text is very happily chosen; it characterizes Isidore's works admirably, as

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 415.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 67, 85, 88. On this last page De Aldama gives a chronological table of Isidore's works.

⁸⁷ *Ibid., passim*, and p. 85, n. 106.

⁸⁸ Cf. *supra*, chapter ii *passim*.

⁸⁹ A curious mistake has one author switching the rôles, making Isidore the author, and Braulio the object, of the eulogy. Cf. E. Venables, “Braulio,” *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, I, 333.

⁹⁰ H. Leclercq (“École,” *D.A.C.L.*, IV, 2) is mildly critical, but G. LeBras is severe; he writes: “Les dithyrambes de Braulion n'ont aucune précision et les précisions de son interpolateur anonyme sont dépourvues d'autorité” (“Sur la part d'Isidore de Séville et des espagnols dans l'histoire des collections canoniques,” *Revue des sciences religieuses*, X (1930), 238, n. 1). He is, of course, referring particularly to Isidore's alleged work on the *Hispana*.

⁹¹ The possibility that Braulio found the quotation in Augustine or Jerome is discussed in Arévalo's *Isidoriana* (P.L., 81, 24 C). Braulio's alteration of the original makes it impossible to decide whence he took it.

Dom Séjourné has well shown.⁹² The passage, translated, with Séjourné's indications entered parenthetically, is as follows:

While we were wandering about our own city, like lost strangers, your books brought us back home, as it were, so that we were able at last to recognize who and where we were. You have made known the nation's past (*Historia Gothorum*), the history of all time (*Chronicon*), sacred law (liturgical legislation and writings), clerical law (ecclesiastical legislation and writings), private and public discipline (civil legislation and writings), the names of sees, and places (*De ortu et obitu patrum*), the names (*Etymologiae*), kinds (*Differentiae*), functions (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*), and causes (*De natura rerum*) of all things human and divine.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 46 (the notes are entered incorrectly), 47-50. "L'enflure apparente cache une concision toute lapidaire, qu'il faudrait commenter comme on analyse une inscription damasienne." The text (*P.L.*, 81, 17 A): Nos in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt; ut possimus aliquando, qui et ubi essemus, agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum jura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam publicamque disciplinam (*the last three phrases take the place of Cicero's tu bellicam disciplinam*), tu sedium, regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti.

CHAPTER IX

BRAULIO'S LIFE OF SAINT EMILIAN

THE VITA—LITERARY HISTORY—CONTENTS—THE HYMN

THE VITA

BRAULIO's fame to-day rests on his Letters. It is a recent fame and confined to the world of scholarship. He was better known throughout the centuries by his *Life of St. Emilian*. He himself hoped that this work would save him from punishment in the next world. “*Hoc opus*,” he quoted from Juvencus in the preface to the *Life*, “*hoc etenim forsan me subtrahet igni.*”¹

In the year 574, some ten years before Braulio's birth, there died, high in the mountains of Old Castile in the district of La Rioja, the saintly hermit whose life is known to us solely through Braulio's biography.² His sanctity was of wide renown even while he was filling out the hundred years of his life. Some time after his death, possibly during the episcopate of John (619-631), Braulio's brother, the city of Saragossa, one hundred and forty-five miles to the southeast,³ erected a basilica dedicated to him. Eugene II of Toledo during his days of retreat

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 153.

² Gonzalo de Berceo wrote a poem in the thirteenth century entitled *La estoria de senyor Sant Millán*; it is based entirely on Braulio's Vita. Cf. C. Carroll Marden, *Cuatro poemas de Berceo*, Madrid, 1928, pp. 95-107. —A. Potthast (*Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, III, 1141) in his bibliography on Emilian, refers to a *vita alia* in J. Guadet, *Saint-Emilion, son histoire et ses monuments*, Paris, 1841, pp. 263-268. This is a Saint Emilian of Brittany who died in 767 in the Gironde. The *Lives* have nothing in common.

³ M. Monmarché, *Espagne, Les guides bleus*, p. 195.

and study with John and Braulio wrote a poem in honor of the church entitled *De basilica sancti Aemiliani*.⁴

For some reason unknown to us the brothers John, Fronimian, and Braulio took an especial interest in St. Emilian.⁵ Supposing that their family was originally from Osma,⁶ we are brought nearer to his hermitage geographically, but mountainous barriers separated the two. The cell and the monastery that arose there were not in the diocese of Osma or that of Saragossa, as Braulio testifies. Perhaps the explanation of their interest in him can be traced from Braulio's description of Emilian as a "Patron."⁷ If the thesis of Dom Lambert is accepted,⁸ we can suppose that the interest of the family in the propagation of the *Rule* of John of Biclar and Fronimian's appointment as abbot of the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla,⁹ built on the site of the saint's death, explain their interest in the cult.

Bishop John, the eldest of the three brothers, some time before his death (631) requested Braulio to write the life of Emilian, and after his death Fronimian urged Braulio to finish it. This

⁴ *Carmen* II, F. Vollmer, *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina*, M.G.H., *Auct. Antiq.*, XIV, 241. This is probably the hymn by Eugene in honor of Emilian, which was said to have been lost in the Codex Soriensis. Cf. R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, p. 434; Vollmer, *op. cit.*, p. 291, n. 1.—J. Pérez de Urbel seems to think that the poem was written for the church of the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla. Cf. "Origen de los himnos mozárabes," *Bulletin hispanique*, 28 (1926), 234.

⁵ Various spellings of the name are: Aemilianus, Emilianus, Emilius, Millan, and Milhan: He is generally known as Aemilianus Cucullatus or Millán de la Cogolla. There is a Monastery of Cogullada two miles north of Saragossa which is said to have been founded in 637 (cf. Monmarché, *op. cit.*, p. 117); this would be during Braulio's episcopate.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 9.

⁷ Letter to Fronimian prefacing the *Vita*, ed. Minguela, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, p. 213: ...vitam unici Patris Patronique, ...

⁸ A. Lambert, "La famille de saint Braulio et l'expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar," *Universidad*, X (1933), 65-80. Cf. *supra*, pp. 13-17.

⁹ For the history of this famous monastery up to the fourteenth century see L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla*, pp. xvii-xxv.

fact and almost all the data we have on the writing of the *Life* have been preserved for us in a Letter of careful scholarship that Braulio wrote to Fronimian on the completion of the work (636), which Letter, he ordained, was to serve as a foreword to the *Life*.¹⁰ His wish has been observed, since most of the manuscripts of the *Vita* and all of the editions are prefaced by the Letter.

LITERARY HISTORY

It is with a sense of temerity that one treats of the literary history and contents of the work, for what will probably be the final word on the subject will be presented in the next volume of the *Acta sanctorum*, where, under the date of November 12, the feast-day of St. Emilian, the *Vita* will be examined critically by the distinguished Bollandist, B. de Gaiffier.¹¹ Such a work as this, however, can not neglect to study the *Life* with some attempt at thoroughness.

Braulio tells us that he wrote the *Life* with the intention of having it read in the saint's mass, and sent it to Fronimian, abbot of the Monastery of San Millán, for that purpose.¹² Such an insertion into the liturgy was common, and the eulogy found its place probably after the gradual at the end of the first part of the Visigothic mass.¹³ Braulio had at first contemplated add-

¹⁰ Letter to Fronimian, *loc. cit.*: Tempore piae recordationis Domini mei et germani majoris natu, communis ac sanctae vitae doctrinaeque institutoris Ioannis Episcopi, tam ejus jussis, quam tuis obediens praecepsis, intenderam . . . vitam . . . stylo praestringere. *Ibid.*, p. 214: . . . et hanc ipsam epistolam meam capiti ejus praeponere curavi, . . .

¹¹ B. de Gaiffier, "La controverse au sujet de la patrie de S. Émilien de la Cogolla," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933), 292, n. 1.—For the bibliography of the Bollandists on Emilian see *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, no. 100.

¹² Letter to Fronimian, Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 214: . . . libellum de ejusdem sancti vitam brevem conscripsi, ut possit in Missae ejus celebritate quamtocius legi: et tibi domino meo destinatum misi, . . .

¹³ P. Séjourné, "Saint Isidore et la liturgie wisigothique," *Miscellanea Isidoriana*, pp. 226-232; Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, ii, 52.

ing a homily to the eulogy, but decided that the mass would thereby be unduly prolonged and that the *Vita* was sermon enough.¹⁴ He asked Eugene to write a mass for the feast,¹⁵ but whether or not it was ever finished seems debatable. Vollmer calls it a lost work,¹⁶ and the *Missale mixtum* of the Mozarabic liturgy gives no proper for the mass of St. Emilian.¹⁷ Serrano, however, informs us that there was no mass proper to the saint, except in the Monastery of San Millán, until the tenth century, when that mass began to appear elsewhere.¹⁸ Férotin edits this mass in the *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum* from the MS Add. 30845 of the British Museum, originally from the Abbey of Silos in Spain.¹⁹ Because of the introductory passage "*Emilianus hic noster recenti tempore sortitus est gloriam,*" Férotin decided the mass was composed at the Monastery of San Millán before 600.²⁰ Neither these words nor any other words in the mass argue against Eugene's authorship of it about 636, since he knew that the mass was destined for the monastery. Added testimony for this authorship is the fact that Braulio speaks of Emilian as "of our times,"²¹ and the interesting fact that the mass in no way repeats the *Life*. Braulio was working on the eulogy, Eugene on

¹⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 119.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁷ His mass is one taken from the common of confessors. *P.L.*, 85, 906 A.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. xxi, n. 6.

¹⁹ Columns 603-608. Mass "*Inter conspicua*."—Silos manuscripts that deal with St. Emilian come from San Millán de la Cogolla. They were imported in the eleventh century by St. Dominic, abbot of Silos, who had been formerly at San Millán. Cf. Serrano, *op. cit.*, p. xxi, n. 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 603, n. 1.

²¹ Letter to Fronimian, Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 213. In the mass Emilian is called "Patron;" this may explain why Braulio spoke of him in the same way (cf. *supra*). Although both the *Life* and the mass compare Emilian to Eliseus, nothing can be made of it, for the mass compares him to many Old Testament figures.

the liturgy. Finally, it is not likely that a second mass would have been written for the same monastery within fifty years.²²

Returning to the *Life*, we notice first that it is not found as an integral part of the mass, but is usually included in collections of lives of the saints. Serrano tells us that the *Vita*, like the mass, was preserved in no other manuscripts save those of the Monastery of San Millán until the tenth century, arguing therefrom that the monastery was one of the few sanctuaries to escape Arabic incursions.²³ The *Vita* was evidently rather well known in the seventh century. We have had occasion already to show that Fructuosus wrote from the west of Spain asking Braulio for a copy of the work. We do not know whether it was sent or not.²⁴ Ildefonse of Toledo testifies to its existence and authorship ten years after Braulio's death in his chapter of the *De viris illustribus* devoted to Braulio.²⁵ About 680 the scholarly abbot Valerius of Vierzo, near Astorga, made a large collection of the *Vitae patrum* which included Braulio's *Vita*. The most careful redaction of this collection is found in the MS 10.007 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, formerly the Toledan MS 10.25.²⁶ This redaction, however, does not include Braulio's *Vita*.²⁷ Other redactions found in MS 13 of the Academia de la His-

²² Pérez de Urbel (*op. cit.*, pp. 233, 234) believes that this extant mass is Eugene's; the date 650 which he gives for its composition is too late. He finds that the first oration of the mass repeats the contents of Eugene's poem *De basilica S. Aemiliani*.

²³ *Loc. cit.*

²⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 166.

²⁵ Chapter 12, *P.L.*, 96, 203: *Scrispsit vitam Aemiliani cuiusdam monachi, qui et memoriam hujus et virtutem illius sancti viri suo tenore commendat pariter et illustrat.*—G. von Dzialowski (*Isidor und Ildefons als Litteraturhistoriker*, pp. 144, 145) gives good reasons for believing that Ildefonse did not consult the *Vita* in preparing his notice on Braulio. It is quite possible that a copy was not available in Toledo.

²⁶ Cf. D. de Bruyne, "L'héritage littéraire de l'abbé saint Valère," *Revue Bénédictine*, 32 (1920), 1-10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

toria of Madrid and the Alcobaça MS 454 do include the work.²⁸ The former came originally from San Millán and is of the tenth century, thereby supporting the statement of Serrano. The latter is of the twelfth century.

There are five manuscripts in the library of the Academia containing the *Vita* and other Emiliana; they are numbers 10, 13, 23, 47, and 59.²⁹ All come from San Millán de la Cogolla. In MS 10 the collection of lives of which the *Vita* is a part is called *Vitae sanctorum patrum orientalium*; in MS 13 it is part of a collection called *Vitae sanctorum*, and has a memorandum attached reading *Vida de Santos y los Padres Emeritenses*. This information is based on the 1909 catalog of Pastor. In the 1886 catalog of Von Hartel, MS 10 and MS 13, are listed as MS 7 and MS 6.³⁰ The oldest of these manuscripts seem to be of the tenth century, with MS 13 possibly going back to the ninth. Férotin identifies MS 47, dated the tenth century, with MS 33.2 formerly of the capitulary library of Toledo.³¹ In the Escorial library there is one codex containing the *Vita*; it is identified as MS a.II.9. It is described by Von Hartel, and a

²⁸ *Ibid.* For a description of the former MS see W. von Hartel and G. Loewe, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis*, I, 484-490. Their work appeared originally in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy. For their treatment of the manuscripts in the Academia de la Historia, see vol. 113, *Philos.-hist. Classe* (1886), 518-561. A later description of the manuscript is found in C. Pérez Pastor, "Índice por títulos de los códices procedentes de los Monasterios de San Millán de la Cogolla y San Pedro de Cardeña, existentes en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 53 (1908), 479-481. For the latter MS see A. de Ataide e Melo, *Inventário dos códices alcobacenses*, Lisbon, 1930, pp. 424-426.

²⁹ C. Pérez Pastor, "Índice alfabético de los códices procedentes de los monasterios de San Millán de la Cogolla y San Pedro de Cardeña, existentes en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia," *ibid.*, 54 (1909), 5-19.

³⁰ *Sitzungsberichte* . . . , pp. 523, 527. Cf. C. Clark, *Collectanea hispanica*, p. 39.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, col. 683.

lengthy study of it has been made by Antolín.³² It bears the date of 954, but Antolín describes the *Vita* as in a hand distinct from the rest of the codex and believes that it did not form part of the original manuscript.³³ The codex contains lives of various saints. No indication is found that it came originally from San Millán. Other manuscripts containing lives of the saints, including Braulio's *Vita S. Aemiliani*, are MS A 76 and MS F 30 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. They are of the tenth century and give no indication of emanating from San Millán.³⁴

The descriptions of these codices reveal the following interesting facts. The Letter to Fronimian always precedes the *Vita*, except in MS Bib. Nac. 10 where it follows immediately. In MS Bib. Nac. 10 and MS Bib. Nac. 13 Eugene's poem *De basilica sancti Aemiliani* follows the Letter immediately. MS Escur. a. II. 9 has definite indications in the *Vita* to show that it was divided into lessons for the divine office.³⁵ Férotin, in describing MS Tol. 33.2, which he identifies with MS Bib. Nac. 47, writes that the *Vita* is divided into liturgical lessons.³⁶ It would seem then that at San Millán in later centuries the *Life* was used for the divine office rather than for the mass proper. Yet in the office of the saint as found in the MS Add. 30845 of the British Museum, and edited by Férotin, there is no provision made for the reading of the *Vita*.³⁷

³² *Sitzungsberichte . . .*, 111 (1886), 433; G. Antolín, "Estudios de códices visigodos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 54 (1909), 55-67, 117-128, 265-315.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³⁴ Von Hartel, *Sitzungsberichte . . .*, 113 (1886), 68, 228.—One is able to control somewhat the manuscripts of the *Vita* in Spain, due to the alphabetical arrangement of H. Grubbs' catalogs: *The Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal and its Supplement*.

³⁵ Antolín, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, col. 683.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, col. 838.

The exact dating of the composition of the *Life* by Braulio is based on scanty manuscript-evidence. Nicholas Antonio, writing in the eighteenth century, relates that a codex of the *Vitae Patrum* preserved in the Monastery of San Millán contained Braulio's *Vita S. Aemiliani* with the following note affixed to the end of the codex: *Explicitus est liber iste a Braulione episcopo Caesaraugustano aera sexcentesima septuagesima quarta.*³⁸ This is the year 636 of the Christian era. Since the manuscript seems to have disappeared, this information has never been checked. Because of Antonio's testimony, authorities have always accepted 636 as the year of composition, and a study of the work itself and of Braulio's Letters does not challenge the date.³⁹ The work was certainly written after Braulio became bishop (631) and before Eugene went to Toledo (646), some time before, we might say, since Eugene was archdeacon when he was appointed to Toledo, and only a deacon when the *Life* was finished.

The *Vita* has been edited and reprinted many times. The first edition, in Latin and in Castilian, is that of Sandoval in 1601.⁴⁰ The most widely used edition is that of Tamayo de Salazar, which was reprinted in Mabillon's *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, and thence in Migne's *Patrologia latina*. The last and best edition is that of the versatile missionary, Toribio Minguella de la Merced, of the Augustinian Recollects. This religious body succeeded the Benedictines at the Monastery of San Millán,

³⁸ *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, I, 376 (*P.L.*, 80, 644 A).

³⁹ Pérez de Urbel, "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 451.

⁴⁰ P. de Sandoval, *Primera parte de las fundaciones de los monasterios de san Benito*, pp. 3-18; Gononus, *Vitae patrum occidentalium*, 1625, pp. 70-82; F. de Bivar, *Marci Maximi episcopi Caesaraugustani continuatio chronici*, 1651, pp. 475-487; J. Tamayo de Salazar, *Martyrologium hispanicum*, 1659, VI, 110-122; D. Mecolaeta, *Desagracio de la verdad en la historia de San Millán*, 1724; J. Baptista, *D. Juan de Perreras vindicado*, 1729, pp. 1-32; J. Gómez de Liria, *San Millán Aragonés*, 1733, pp. 126 ff.; *idem*, *Desagracio de San Braulio en la vida de San Millán*, 1755, pp. 1-41; J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, 1783, I, 197-208; *P.L.*, 80, 699-714; V. de La Fuente, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, 1873, II, 515-523.

and Minguella was abbot there at the time he edited the *Vita*.⁴¹ His work includes a Spanish translation and a detailed discussion of the life of St. Emilian. His Latin text of the *Vita* benefited from a collation of the Escorial MS a. II. 9 of the tenth century, mentioned above, a manuscript which had been used in no edition up to his time,⁴² and from a collation of a manuscript of the Academia de la Historia, which he does not further designate, except to say that it came originally from San Millán; it is probably MS 10 mentioned above.⁴³

CONTENTS

In studying the *Life* closely we find the most remarkable aspect to be the exceptionally scientific approach which Braulio displays. It is apparent from the outset, for in the first sentence of his prefacing Letter to Fronimian he gives his sources. Such information was certainly not set down there for the enlightenment of his brother, now abbot of San Millán, who with John had instigated the *Life*, and had provided some of the sources. The principal sources, Braulio tells us, were notes that he had assembled some years before the *Life* was finished (636), assembled, in fact, before he became bishop (631), when John was urging him to the task. The notes were based on testimony provided by Cythonatus, the friend of Emilian and his successor as abbot of San Millán, if Emilian may be called the first abbot.⁴⁴ There was likewise testimony from two priests, Sofronius and Gerontius, and from the "late Potamia of pious memory," all of whom were close to St. Emilian in his old age.⁴⁵

⁴¹ T. Minguella, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, 1883, pp. 213-243.—The work is rare in the United States. There are copies in the libraries of the Hispanic Society of America, New York, and of the University of Wisconsin.

⁴² Cf. Antolín, *Boletín* . . . , pp. 67, 314. Antolín has other valuable notices on the various editions of the *Vita* on p. 314.

⁴³ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁴⁴ On the abbots of San Millán see *supra*, p. 71.

⁴⁵ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 213: . . . intenderam juxta fidem notitiae quam sub testificatione Cythonati Abbatis venerabilis, Sofronii et Gerontii Pres-

We have already had occasion to observe that these notes were mislaid for years, due to press of episcopal duties, and found again "by divine will."⁴⁶ Encouraged by this intervention and by the urging of Fronimian, he finished the work and sent it to his brother, insisting that he, situated favorably at the monastery, revise the work if it needed correction.⁴⁷ He insists, moreover, that the work be submitted to the two witnesses who are still alive, Cythonatus and Gerontius.⁴⁸ He calls attention to the fact that the information which Fronimian sent him the year before on the posthumous miracles of Emilian has been added at the end of the *Life*.⁴⁹ Then, for fear, we may suppose, that the prefacing Letter might be detached from the work, or, at least, not read at mass with it, he repeats the sources in the first chapter of the *Life* proper.⁵⁰ Finally, when he reaches the subject

byterorum, atque sanctae memoriae Potamiae religiosae feminae, collectam, . . . vitam . . . stylo praestringere.—All the holy personages named in Braulio's *Vita* were canonized by the monks a few centuries later. Cf. B. de Gaiffier, "Les reliques de l'abbaye de San Millán de la Cogolla au XIII^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 93, n. 3.

⁴⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 151.

⁴⁷ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 214: Demumque non sine superna dispensatione hoc ipsum esse credens, armavi animum, ut et obedientiae fructum caperem, et tam crebrae petitioni vestrae parerem. Quocirca dictavi, ut potui, et plano apertoque sermone, . . . libellum conscripsi, . . . judicioque tuo probandum committens, ut ad singulare cognitum, si in aliquo displicerit, aut emendas, aut reprobes.—Braulio elaborates this request; a good part of the elaboration is omitted in the Mabillon-Migne reprint.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 215: Volo autem ut quia sanctissimus vir Cythonatus Presbyter, atque Gerontius, adhuc in corpore degunt, omnia quae in ea conscripsi, ante ipsi recognoscant, et eorum, discussione ventilata, si nec nominum nec rerum me fefellit sententia, habeantur confirmata.—We may wonder how Fronimian can be abbot with his predecessor, Cythonatus, still living. This "venerable abbot" had probably retired because of his age. Fronimian was abbot, it would seem, by 632. Cf. *supra*, p. 72.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: Sane illa quae anno praeterito a vobis ibidem divinitus operata didici, in finem libelli istius, ut a vobis accepi, adjeci.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 220: Venerabiles namque Ecclesiarum Christi Sacerdotes Cythonatus, sanctae, purissimaeque vitae Sophronius et Gerontius Presbyteri, quibus non immodicam fidem habet Ecclesia, nobis quae ipsi

of posthumous miracles, he decides to record only those which are beyond cavil.⁵¹ His purpose in all these precautions is well summed up in his piquant line: "It is better to tell the truth without erudition, than fiction with eloquence."⁵²

The *Vita* is divided into thirty-one chapters, an arrangement which would seem to have originated with Braulio; the manuscripts, at least, support this. The length of the work may be judged from the fact that it occupies about thirteen columns in Migne. The contents consist for the most part of the saint's virtues and miracles; an account of his daily life is expressly omitted by the author.⁵³ For a framework there are biographical data which are surprisingly complete, in view of the size, the purpose, and the age of the work. Unfortunately that ancient rivalry which brings cities to claim great men and their relics has confused the geographical references in this work. From the fifteenth century to the present day Aragon, with its ancient capital of Saragossa, has disputed with Old Castile, where the Monastery of San Millán is found, the traditions and relics of St. Emilian. A result of the controversy was the appearance of three Emilians where there seems to have been but one, the third one being St. Emilian of Vercelli in Italy, who as a matter of fact did exist, but comes to us clothed now in the traditions of Braulio's *Vita*. The problems that this confusion has brought

viderunt, fidi relatione narrarunt. Additur his probatissimis testibus, testimonium beatae memoriae religiosissimae Potamiae, cuius nobilem ortum, nobilior vitae nobilitavit cursus: hos ego quattuor de miraculis in corpore gestis, habere elegi testes, citra populorum, provinciarumque de hujusmodi rebus testimonia, quae pene cuncta testatur Hispania.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241: ...sed hoc solum dignum putavi scriptis tradi, quod illico post ejus transitum duo orbi redditum sunt lumini.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 219: Melius siquidem ut vera minus erudite quam ut ficta narrarentur eloquenter.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 221: Nam illic, quae usu frequentata jam pene effecta sunt quotidiana, nobis necessario sunt praetermissa, dum nequeunt, ut supra dictum est, comprehendendi tota: et si quis ea nosse desiderat, melius utique crederet visa.

on have been solved with scholarly clarity by Father De Gaiffier.⁵⁴ In summarizing the *Life* we are following his biographical indications.

Emilian was born about 474 one mile from the village of Berceo in La Rioja, not far from Najera in the modern province of Logroño. The Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, or, more exactly, the older part of it, called Suso, marks approximately the spot.⁵⁵ He spent his youth tending sheep in this mountainous country.⁵⁶ At the age of twenty he was attracted by the fame of a hermit named Felix and went to the *Castellum Bilibium*, just outside the city of Haro in the province of Logroño, where he became a disciple under him.⁵⁷ He then returned to his home near Berceo, where his own fame for sanctity attracted many. Anxious to lead a life of solitude, he withdrew to a secluded spot on Mount Dircetius, where he lived as a hermit for forty years.⁵⁸ His fame for sanctity continued to grow,

⁵⁴ "La controverse au sujet de la patrie de S. Émilien de la Cogolla," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 51 (1933), 293-317.

⁵⁵ The date of his birth is determined from the date of his death. Cf. *infra*, p. 233. For the abbatial property see *infra*, p. 235. For the place of his birth see note just below.

⁵⁶ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 220: *Igitur a conversionis ejus principio nos quoque dicendi, . . . sumamus exordium, qualis extitit a vicesimo aetatis suae anno; p. 221: Futurus pastor hominum erat pastor ovium, minabatque oves ad interiora montium, . . .*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: *Dictaverat ei fama, esse quendam eremitam nomine Felicem, virum sanctissimum, cui se non immerito praeberet discipulum: qui tunc morabatur in castellum Bilibium.* Cf. C. de Smedt, *De S. Felice in AASS, Novembribus tom. III* (Brussels, 1910), *Dies sextus novembbris*, pp. 211-219.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222: *reheat ad sua, doctrinae gratia copiosus, ac sic venit procul a villa Vergegio, ubi nunc ejus habetur corpuseulum gloriosum: ibique non multo moratus tempore, vidit impedimento sibi fore hominum ad se concurrentium multitudinem. Celsiora petit, . . . pervenit ad remotiora Distertii (De Gaiffier gives *Dircetii*) montis secreta, . . . quadragenis ibi fere habitans recursibus.—Mount Dircetius is to-day Sierra de la Demanda.* Cf. M. Férotin, "La légende de sainte Potamia," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 21 (1902), 40.

however, and his bishop, Didymus of Tarazona, ordained the reluctant hermit to the priesthood and placed him in charge of his native church of Berceo.⁵⁹ Irked by his generosity to the poor, some neighboring clerics defamed him to the bishop, and Didymus relieved him of his charge. He then retired to his old home, one mile from the city, and built an oratory where he remained for the rest of his life.⁶⁰ Garcia Villada writes that the mountain on which his oratory was situated was the Mount Dircetius mentioned above and that the monastery was known by the name Dircecio until the tenth century when it became Bergegio. About 1180 it was known as Cuculla, a name which originally belonged to one of the peaks dominating the valley.⁶¹ Pérez de Urbel believes his oratory was situated on a mountain that was shaped like a hood (*colgada*).⁶² These variations do not affect the main facts materially. This much is certain, that the name *cucullatus*, or *la Cogolla*, was derived from a peak in the neighborhood, and was attached to the monastery after the tenth century.

These biographical facts bring us in the *Vita* to the end of chapter 6. There Braulio leaves what he calls the “*conversio*” and “*conversatio*” of the saint to take up the “*charismata*.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224: ... eo usque fama sanctitatis ejus procrevit, ut in notitia pene omnium perveniret. Didimo etiam, qui tunc Pontificatus gerebat in Tyrasona ministerium, cum hoc quoque fuisse delatum, insequitur hominem, ordini Ecclesiastico volens inserere: ejus quippe erat in dioecesi. ... Tandemque coactus est invitus obedire: quapropter in Ecclesia Bergaeii Presbyterii est functus officio.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 225, 226: Ob hanc rem, ut mos pessimorum solet esse clericorum adsistunt quidam e clericis suis coram praefato Episcopo, ad eum videlicet ob damna rei familiaris lacessendum ... Tunc a suscepto dudum ministerio relaxatus, ubi nunc vocatur ejus oratorium, reliquum vitae tempus peregit innoxius.

⁶¹ Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, II, i, 315-316.

⁶² *Les monjes españoles en edad media*, I, 172, 174.

⁶³ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 226: Hactenus conversio, atque conversatio ejus. Et quamvis pulchriora fuerint illa; charismata que latuerint... habemus instituta.

Some of the miracles he relates are common in hagiographical literature, such as the first one, wherein "the Eternal King's wrestler" struggles with the devil.⁶⁴ There then follow nine cures of persons from all walks of life, clergy, senators, and servants, and it is very noticeable that almost all persons who enter the narrative are mentioned specifically by name; these names Braulio had asked Cythonatus and Gerontius to verify.⁶⁵ Four of these miracles are physical cures, and five are exorcisms. In chapter 17 a house is exorcized. In chapter 19 a building beam is miraculously lengthened. Fragments of this beam were believed to be preserved as reliques at San Millán, and probably Oviedo, in the thirteenth century.⁶⁶ In chapter 20 Emilian is compared to St. Martin because of his charity in vesting beggars. His miraculous feeding of the multitudes who flocked to his oratory is described in chapters 21 and 22. Another exorcism is related in chapter 23. How robbers stole his horse and returned it is narrated in chapter 24.⁶⁷ In chapter 25 we are told how the saintly man, as he was approaching the hundredth year of his life, foretold the day of his death in that year.⁶⁸ During Lent of the same year he again exercised the gift of prophecy by foretelling the devastating incursion that King Leovigild was about to make into Cantabria (574).⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: Accidit quadam die, ut palaestritae Regis aeterni occurserit in via hostis generis humani. Cf. B. de Gaiffier, "Les reliques de l'abbaye de San Millán de la Cogolla au XIII^e siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 53 (1935), 93.

⁶⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 229, n. 48.

⁶⁶ B. de Gaiffier, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁷ This miracle was the subject of a miniature in the Escorial MS a.II.9. A miniature of Emilian's fight with the devil was cut out of chapter 7 of the same manuscript. Cf. Antolín, *Boletín* . . . , p. 315.

⁶⁸ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 239: Ante annum fere migrationis suaee, centesimum vero vitae, cum ei revelatum esset, humanos se finiturum labores, . . .

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: Eodem igitur anno, Quadragesimae diebus revelatur ei excidium Cantabriae . . . quod post probabit eventus, nam gladio vindice Leuvigildi est interemptus. Cp. *Chronica Ioannis Biclarensis*, ed. T. Mommsen, *M.G.H.*,

Chapter 27 describes Emilian's death and burial and chapters 28 to 31 his posthumous miracles. As he felt death approaching he sent for a priest by the name of Asellus, one of the community it seems, and died in his presence on November 12, 574.⁷⁰ The only important biographical information that Braulio omits is the exact day of his death, and that would seem to be because November 12 was known by all to be the date. All authorities accept that as the day, due to the uniform tradition of manuscript evidence, breviaries, and missals.⁷¹ The rival shrine of San Millán at Torrelapaja in Aragon observes his feast on the same day.

He was buried in his oratory.⁷² It was then, and remains to this day, the heart of the abbey of San Millán de la Cogolla. There has been some doubt as to whether or not Emilian was leading a cenobitic life at his oratory. The evidence indicates that he established a monastery.⁷³ Mediaeval documents support this with uniformity, but more important still, the priest Asellus was one "*cum quo habebat collegium*," and Emilian's friends the abbot Cythonatus, and the priests, Sofronius and Gerontius, lived on at the monastery to the time of Braulio and his brother, Fronimian, abbot of the monastery. The questionable list of abbots in the Escorial MS. d. I. 1. begins with Emilian's name.⁷⁴ Still more interesting is the possibility that

Auct. Antiq., XI, 213: Ann. 574(?). His diebus Leovegildus rex Cantabriam ingressus provinciae pervasores interficit, Amaiam occupat, opes eorum pervadit et provinciam in suam revocat dicionem.

⁷⁰ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 240: Sane adpropinquante mortis tempore, accersivit sanctissimum Asellum Presbyterum, cum quo habebat collegium, in cuius praesentia felicissima illa anima corpore soluta, coelo est redditia.

⁷¹ His feast and office are described in Serrano, *op. cit.*, p. xix, n. 2. An example of the manuscript evidence is found in MS 13 mentioned above: f. 203v—incipit uita . . . emiliani . . . qui obiit bercecio II idus nobembris.

⁷² Minguella, *loc. cit.*: . . . corpus ejus . . . depositum est, ubi et manet in suo oratorio.

⁷³ Cf. Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, p. 316. Lambert (*op. cit.*, p. 79) doubts this.

⁷⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 71.

there was in existence under him an early example of the *Doppelklöster*, one for men and one for women.⁷⁵ It is true that Lambert objects strenuously to Garcia Villada's contention that a monastery for women existed under Emilian,⁷⁶ but he does not explain satisfactorily the following facts: there was a holy woman named Potamia, as we have seen above, who knew Emilian well enough to be, with the abbot Cythonatus, a witness to his life; she was venerated at the monastery as a saint who came down from Gaul and joined the band of pious women, "consecrated virgins" in fact, with whom, according to Braulio, St. Emilian lived from his eightieth year on, apparently as their superior, while these "handmaids of God" ministered to his physical infirmities.⁷⁷

To-day there exists at San Millán de la Cogolla two monasteries, San Millán de Yuso and San Millán de Suso.⁷⁸ The former, the more recent establishment, was built lower down on the slope of the mountain about 1067; it was renovated in the sixteenth century. The latter is reputed to be on the site of the oratory. The present building was erected in the tenth century, at which time the body of the saint was exhumed and placed under an altar of the church. In 1030 the body was placed in a reliquary and in 1076 was transferred to a richer

⁷⁵ Cf. P. Hilpisch, *Die Doppelklöster. Entstehung und Organisation*, 1928. Heft 15 of the *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*.

⁷⁶ Garcia Villada, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Lambert, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁷ Cf. Férotin, *loc. cit.*—The very honest testimony of Braulio is found in chapter 23 (Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 237): ... in senectute deditus, utique habitabat cum sacris virginibus, et cum esset ab octogesimo vitae suae et deinceps anno, labore sancto, doloreque constrictus, omnia officia ut pater poterat ancillarum Dei ministerio suscipiebat blandus.—The saint's actions caused scandal which Braulio sternly scolds.

⁷⁸ Carefully described by M. Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 288-309. Cf. also Garcia Villada, *Historia . . .*, II, i, 317.

reliquary.⁷⁹ Most of the relics disappeared at the time of the French invasion (1808-1814).

In closing, a few words might be said on the importance of Braulio's *Vita S. Aemiliani* as a specimen of early mediaeval hagiography. Like most mediaeval *vitae*, it is disappointing in as much as it neglects the human side of Emilian. But the unusually scientific attitude displayed by Braulio in his quest of sources and in his efforts to secure criticism and correction from reliable witnesses gives his work a modern touch and makes him stand out among the hagiographers of his age.

From a literary viewpoint the work deserves the same linguistic consideration as the Letters, which it resembles in style. There are beautiful passages in it as, for example, Braulio's envoy:⁸⁰

Vale vale Aemiliane beate, . . . ac relatoris tui Braulionis inutilis memor succurre intercessor, ut te inveniam veniam . . . : ut cuius exaravi stylo virtutes, ejus favore pro peccatorum meorum indulgentia meae audiantur preces, atque cum his quibus indignus cura pastorali praesideo, dignus inveniar in extremo judicio. Sentio me fine libelli urgeri.

THE HYMN

Besides the *Life of St. Emilian*, Braulio wrote in his honor, at the request of Fronimian, a hymn for his feast. He is his own witness to its authorship, for he mentions it in his Letter to Fronimian, prefacing the *Vita*, announces that it is being sent along with the *Life*, and describes it as written in the meter of the iambic senarius.⁸¹ It is the only piece of poetry which we possess that may be definitely ascribed to Braulio.⁸²

⁷⁹ The reliquary of 1030 is reproduced in photographs in M. Dieulafoy, *Espagne et Portugal* (collection *Ars-Una*), pp. 92, 98.

⁸⁰ Chapter 27. Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁸¹ Minguella, *op. cit.*, p. 215: Hymnum quoque de festivitate ipsius sancti, ut jussisti, jambico senario metro compositum transmisi.

⁸² R. Ceillier is temporarily confused when he ascribes two hymns in honor of St. Emilian to Braulio. Cf. *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*, XI, 729, 731-732.

There was much poetry written in the time of Braulio, taking the form particularly of hymns for the nascent Visigothic liturgy.⁸³ His teachers Isidore and John were praised by Ildefonse in the *De viris illustribus* for their liturgical compositions, as was his own student, Eugene of Toledo. We are not surprised, then, to find Ildefonse praising Braulio for his work in "melodies."⁸⁴ For this reason Braulio is always included with his contemporaries as an author of the countless unassignable hymns of Mozarabic liturgy.⁸⁵

There is no indication in the Letter to Fronimian that Braulio intended the *Hymn* to be an integral part of the *Life*, or that it was to be read in the mass of the feast. The fact that in the best known edition the *Hymn* is placed immediately after the *Vita* is apt to be misleading.⁸⁶ Braulio probably intended it to be inserted in the divine office for the saint's feast-day, as it is found in the manuscripts; in other words, it was destined for the breviary, rather than for the missal.

The *Hymn* is found in several manuscripts, none of which is earlier than the tenth century. The manuscripts are either breviaries or collections of hymns. No manuscript of the *Vita* seems to include the *Hymn*, even when Eugene's poem is present. The noted hymnologist Blume, in giving us the best edition of

⁸³ C. Blume, "Hymnody," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 601; *idem*, *Analecta hymnica*, 27, pp. 5-58.

⁸⁴ Chapter 12, *P.L.*, 96, 203: *Clarus iste habitus canonibus...* Older writers, among them Mariana, Risco, and Arévalo, read *canonibus* for *canoribus*, because of Braulio's work in the councils of the time. See, for example, *P.L.*, 80, 639 C. Dzialowski reads *canoribus*. The oldest manuscripts support this reading. Cf. F. Fita, "El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza," *La Ciudad de Dios*, V (1871); Pérez de Urbel "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 451.

⁸⁵ Pérez de Urbel, "Origen de los himnos mozárabes," *Bulletin hispanique*, 28 (1926), 16, 17. This useful article was published under the same title in book form.—For the various editions of the *Hymnodia gotica* see the first page of Pérez de Urbel's work. The hymns are grouped conveniently in the volume of the *Analecta hymnica* cited above, and Lorenzana's edition reprinted in *P.L.*, 85 and 86.

⁸⁶ The edition of Bivarius reprinted in Migne. Cf. *infra*.

the Hymn,⁸⁷ discusses some of the manuscripts. He used the MS Add. 30845 of the British Museum, which contains both the Mozarabic missal and breviary. It is the same tenth-century manuscript mentioned above, with traditions that are rooted in San Millán de la Cogolla, which Férotin used in editing the mass of St. Emilian.⁸⁸ The *Hymn* is found in the second, or breviary part, on folio 145a. Férotin edited the *Hymn* from this manuscript, and describes it as listed for vespers and matins of the office of St. Emilian.⁸⁹ Blume used also the MS Add. 30851 of the British Museum. It has the same antecedents as the preceding manuscript, but is of the eleventh century. Its contents consist of a psalter and hymnal. J. Gilson, at work after Blume, edited the *Hymn* according to this manuscript, and comments on the latter's readings.⁹⁰ Blume collated also the *Hymn* as it is found on folio 412a of the *Breviarium secundum regulam sancti Isidori*, a work edited by Alfons Ortiz at the command of Cardinal Cisneros and printed at Toledo in 1502. This edition of the *Hymn* was revised by Cardinal Lorenzana and is now available in Migne.⁹¹ Under November 12, for the feast of St. Emilian, this breviary directs the reader to say the office of a confessor with the exception of the *Hymn*, which is there given as the only part of the office proper to the saint. The only other edition is that of Bivar in 1625, which was reproduced by Mabillon,⁹² and this is the one that is reprinted in Migne as part of the corpus of Braulio.⁹³

⁸⁷ *Analecta hymnica*, 27, 125-127.

⁸⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 223.

⁸⁹ *Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, col. 838.

⁹⁰ *The Mozarabic Psalter*, pp. 265-268.

⁹¹ *Breviarium gothicum*, P.L., 86, 1242. See Lorenzana's foreword to the volume.

⁹² F. de Bivar, *Marci Maximi episcopi Caesaraugustani continuatio chronicorum*, p. 487. J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, I, 207-208.

⁹³ P.L., 70, 713-716. Cf. also N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, I, 376 (P.L., 80, 643 B).

Pérez Pastor informs us that MS 14 of the Real Academia de la Historia contains a hymn to St. Emilian.⁹⁴ This is probably Braulio's *Hymn*, and perhaps it has never been collated. The manuscript is called a *Sermonarium* and seems to have come from San Millán de la Cogolla. It is of interest to note that the *Hymn* is set to music. Pérez de Urbel thinks that Ildefonse's use of the word "canoribus" may indicate that Braulio was a musician as well as a poet, and he suggests that Braulio may be one of the composers of the undeciphered musical notations that fill Mozarabic liturgical books.⁹⁵ In MS 23 of the same library, there is, according to Von Hartel's catalog,⁹⁶ a collection of hymns which includes two in honor of St. Emilian; one for vespers: *Christe caput fidelium hospes*; and one for the nocturns: *Cuncti celestis curie*. Neither of these seems to be the work of Braulio.

The *Hymn* is composed of eighty-five lines in all the editions save that of the best edition by Blume. He rightly points out that eighty lines only may be safely ascribed to Braulio. The doxology, consisting of the last five lines, varies in the manuscripts. Of the manuscripts extant, the better ones, namely, MS Add. 30845 and MS Add. 30851, have a doxology entirely different from that of the *Hymn* as found in Migne. Blume points out, however, that even the better authenticated doxology is found in one manuscript at the end of another hymn. He rules out both doxologies as later compositions, due to their faulty meter as compared with Braulio's work.

The eighty lines are all in iambic trimeters, a verse which Braulio correctly describes as the *senarius*. They are of metrically correct structure, though Blume points out that this holds in its full sense only for the MS Add. 30851. As he edits the text, verses

⁹⁴ C. Pérez Pastor, "Índice por títulos . . .," *Boletín . . .*, 53 (1908), 481.

⁹⁵ "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 451.

⁹⁶ "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte . . .*, 113 (1886), 537-538.

7, 8, 24, 38, and 70 are faulty. The accentual stress almost always coincides with the metrical, but when there is a divergence, the metrical ictus is observed. There are frequent examples of rime: in one case three-syllable, in eleven cases two-syllable, and in four cases one-syllable.⁹⁷ Internal rime and alliteration are not uncommon.⁹⁸

Compared with his poetical prose, Braulio's poetry is lifeless. To use the words with which he greeted one of Tajo's school-day essays, it is a "*paradigma in armatura.*"⁹⁹ Ceillier's rather fulsome praise of it is correct only in as much as the *Hymn* is filled with Christian sentiment.¹⁰⁰ The poet addressing Christ begs Him to forgive His people and free them from the evils of this world. Emilian is mentioned but once, in passing. Since nothing is learned about the saint in the poem, Manitius does not want to call it a hymn, and believes this to be the reason why it had but a provincial popularity.¹⁰¹ Such an opinion disregards the fact that Braulio had just written his life, and Eugene was engaged in writing a mass and poetry in his honor. Its restricted popularity was due more likely to the imminent invasions and occupation by the Moors.

⁹⁷ Blume, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, verses 74, 75, 76:

Nostris ut esset saeculis sectabilis
Foretque fortis advocatus infimis.
Hymnite mecum consonante carmine,

⁹⁹ Cf. *supra*, p. 155.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 732.

¹⁰¹ M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, p. 420; cf. also F. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 127.

CHAPTER X

ALLEGED WORKS

ACTA DE MARTYRIBUS CAESARAUGUSTANIS—OTHER ACTA—DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS—CHRONICLE AND EPITAPH OF MAXIMUS—OTHER PIECES

ILDEFONSE in his brief notice on Braulio recorded “that he was known for certain minor works.”¹ We have already considered his possible authorship of the canons of the Sixth Council of Toledo, the *Confessio Judaeorum*, parts of the *Forum judicum*, and Mozarabic hymns. In this chapter we shall discuss other works which, with reason or by mistake, have been ascribed to him.

ACTA DE MARTYRIBUS CAESARAUGUSTANIS

Of all the works doubtfully ascribed to Braulio, that which is most closely associated with his name is the *Acta de martyribus Caesaraugustanis*, sometimes called *Passio sanctorum innumerablem Caesaraugustanorum martyrum*. It is the only work doubtfully his which is included in the corpus of his works as it is found in Migne.² The troublesome question of its authorship will probably be settled definitely by Dom Lambert, who has promised a work which must consider it.³

There are at least fifteen manuscripts of the *Acta*, the oldest of them ascribing the work to Braulio.⁴ In an early volume of the *Acta sanctorum*, Papebroch published two editions of the document from two manuscripts.⁵ In a later volume of the same, Van

¹ *De viris illustribus*, chapter xii (*P.L.*, 96, 203): *Clarus iste habitus canoribus et quibusdam opusculis.*

² *P.L.*, 80, 715-720.

³ A. Lambert, “La famille de saint Braulio et l’expansion de la règle de Jean de Biclar,” *Universidad*, X (1933), 74, and n. 40.

⁴ J. Pérez de Urbel, “Braulio,” *D.H.G.E.*, X, 451.

⁵ *Aprilis tom. II*, 406-407, 956.

Hoof edited two recensions of the work, one from a collation of fourteen French and Belgium manuscripts of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, and the other from a Paris manuscript, originally from Silos.⁶ Since this latter is of the twelfth century, we may suppose that its original provenance was San Millán de la Cogolla.⁷ Lambert calls Van Hoof's first recension a Carolingian redaction, and his second a Mozarabic redaction, adding that the primitive text shines through the two.⁸ Risco has also given us an edition in his corpus of Braulio's work;⁹ it was based on the same manuscript of J. Lucas Cortes, which Papebroch used in his second recension. The text of this manuscript is almost identical with that of the thirteenth-century Douai manuscript which Van Hoof praises for its comparatively superior Latin, and which he says is the only one that deserves attribution to Braulio.¹⁰ Migne has reprinted Risco's edition in the corpus of Braulio.¹¹

Opinions among the older authorities on the question of its ascription to Braulio differed, with the majority believing it to be his.¹² Papebroch took it to be Braulio's.¹³ His successor Van Hoof did not, and strongly attacked its alleged authorship, particularly on stylistic grounds.¹⁴ Risco accepted this opinion.¹⁵ Pérez de Urbel defends his authorship on the grounds of the manuscript tradition and Braulio's adaptability of style.¹⁶ Lambert, who has perhaps devoted more time than others to its study,

⁶ *Novembris tom. I*, 643-649.

⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 223.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁹ *España sagrada*, 30, 305-316.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 649.

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 2.

¹² Cf. N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, I, 376 (*P.L.*, 80, 644 B, and note c).

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 406.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 637, 648-649.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 311.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

commits himself only to the statement that it was written during the first half of the seventh century.¹⁷ This was Braulio's period, and ascription of the work to him would have helped Lambert's thesis on the family of Braulio. Such caution is significant.

The historical background of the devotion to the Eighteen Martyrs, especially as it has been tentatively filled in by Lambert, lends itself ideally to Braulio's authorship of the *Acta*. These innumerable martyrs of Saragossa, only eighteen of whom are named, were put to death in that city during the persecution of Diocletian about the year 303.¹⁸ The ancient Christian city of Saragossa had always been very devoted to them, and had built sanctuaries in their honor. In the persecution of Leovigild (c. 580), Bishop Vincent of Saragossa apostatized to Arianism. At the Council of Saragossa which convened November 1, 592, it was decreed that churches consecrated by Vincent were to be re-consecrated.¹⁹ This seems to have applied to the Basilica of the Eighteen Martyrs. On November 3, at the close of the council, a new feast was instituted for that day in honor of the Innumerable Martyrs, a feast which was to be distinct from the older one of the Eighteen Martyrs observed on the Wednesday within the octave of Easter.²⁰ Under the episcopacy of Maximus (*ob. 619*), a monastery was established, attached to the Basilica. John, brother of Braulio, was perhaps its first abbot, before he suc-

¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁸ For a detailed account of the persecution see H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, pp. 81-87; Z. Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, I, i, 262-282. Cf. also H. Delehaye and H. Quentin, *Martyrologium*, in *A.A.S.S., Novembris tom. II*, ii (Brussels, 1931), *Dies 22 Januarii*, p. 55.

¹⁹ See Lambert's careful exposition of these details, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

²⁰ With the Bollandists (*locis citatis*), and against P. Gams (*Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, I, 328) it seems necessary to hold that there were two feasts. Presumably this is also Lambert's belief (*op. cit.*, p. 74). This explains why Papebroch edited the *Acta* for the feast of the Eighteen Martyrs on April 16, and Van Hoof re-edited it for the feast of the Innumerable Martyrs on November 3. The *Acta* itself honors both the Innumerable Martyrs (*P.L.*, 80, 718 A) and singles out eighteen of them by name for special honors (*ibid.*, 717 C).

ceeded Maximus as bishop, and, according to the testimony of Ildefonse,²¹ the fame of the shrine attracted Eugene from Toledo. During John's abbacy, or during his episcopal tenure (619-631), or Braulio's episcopacy (631-651), the *Acta* was written, and Eugene dedicated two poems to the churches of these martyrs.²² Perhaps Braulio wrote the *Acta*. Early manuscripts attributing it to him would bear this out, nor do later manuscripts or writers offer any name in his stead. On the basis of what is tenuous evidence at the best, one might even give the year in which Braulio wrote it. Five writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have recorded that there was in Saragossa in their day, an old stone tower, called the "tower of St. Braulio," which marked the ruins of a church built, or, perhaps, rebuilt, by him in honor of the Innumerable Martyrs (Santas Masas).²³ Two of these writers record that Braulio built the church while he was bishop in 609. Risco, Papebroch, and Van Hoof accepted this testimony, and Van Hoof decided that the year 629 was meant instead of 609.²⁴ This testimony may be paralleled with a passage in the *Acta* which reads: *Aulam denique ob sanctorum honorem omnipotenti Deo consecravimus.*²⁵ Two reasons for hesitating to accept this evidence are, first, Braulio was not bishop until 631, and secondly, false inscriptions, if there was any at all in this case, are exceptionally numerous in the Iberian peninsula.²⁶ Finally, on the whole question, it must be remembered that Braulio and Ildefonse make no mention of the work.

²¹ *De viris illustribus*, chapter xiv, *P.L.*, 96, 204: Qui sagaci fuga urbem Caesaraugustanam petens, illic martyrum sepulchris inhaesit.

²² Cf. F. Vollmer, *Eugenii Toletani episcopi carmina*, *M.G.H.*, *Auct. antiq.*, XIV, 239-240, 301.

²³ Cf. *supra*, p. 15.

²⁴ The evidence of Zurita, Marieta, Quintanadueñas, Carillo, and Tamayo de Salazar, is found in: Risco, *op. cit.*, p. 288; Van Hoof, *op. cit.*, p. 641; Papebroch, *AA.SS.*, *Martii tom. II*, 3 ed., *ad diem 18*, p. 635.

²⁵ *P.L.*, 80, 720 A.

²⁶ E. Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianaæ*, p. iii.

From a study of the contents of the *Acta* the following testimony may be deduced. In the first place, it is very unlike the *Vita S. Aemiliani*. Historical and biographical details are scarce, and miracles are omitted. No scholarly attempt is made to substantiate the facts, save to say that they are based on ancient testimony provided by pagan sources.²⁷ It is a hymn or an encomium rather than the *Acta* of the saints;²⁸ and was probably built up on the traditions of the city, or on the ample evidence provided by the poet Prudentius in his *Peristephanon*.²⁹

As for the style, it is treacherous to compare it with Braulio's writings and come to a definite decision as to its authorship, at least until linguistic studies have been made of both. Van Hoof compares them and decides because of dissimilarity that it is not Braulio's. Pérez de Urbel holds that it is Braulio's on the principle of a person's ability to adapt his style to his matter. The introduction seems to be in a style distinct from that of the rest of the work.³⁰ It is heavy with rhythm and assonance. The rest of the work is closer to Braulio's use of rimed and evenly spaced cola. Van Hoof suggests that the author may have borrowed from some prayer that Braulio had written for the feast.

It may be noted that the author speaks of St. Paul as "egregius Praedicator;" Braulio in his many references to him always called him simply "the Apostle."³¹ Spain is always written *Spania* in this text and *Hispania* in that of Braulio.³² The author of this work can not be compared at all to Braulio in the matter

²⁷ *P.L.*, 80, 716 C: Nunc igitur ordinem acceptae narrationis prosequens, ad ea gressu proprio percurram, quae priscorum temporum fama relatione ethnicorum ad nos usque delata est.

²⁸ Van Hoof, *op. cit.*, p. 637.

²⁹ Hymns 4 and 5.

³⁰ *P.L.*, 80, 715 C.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 718 D; cf. *supra*, p. 121.

³² *P.L.*, 80, 717 A (bis); cp. *ibid.*, 704 B.

of weaving Scripture into the text.³³ In fact there is nothing in the *Acta* that makes one think instinctively of Braulio.

OTHER ACTA

Other hagiographical works that have been attributed occasionally to Braulio are the following: *Vitae patrum*, *De adventu sanctorum apostolorum Jacobi, Petri, et Pauli, in Hispanias*, *Vita sanctorum martyrum Vincentii, Sabinae, et Christetidis*, and the *Vita sanctae Leocadiae*.³⁴

That variable collection of saints known as the *Vitae patrum*, which was almost as necessary to a mediaeval library as the Bible, seems to have been attributed to Braulio by accident in one manuscript. Nicholas Antonio reported that a codex preserved at the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, which now seems to be untraceable, was entitled *Vitae patrum* and was attributed in a colophon to Braulio.³⁵ Accepting the opinion of Antonio Zapata y Aragon, who had seen the codex, he decided that this attribution meant simply that all works in the codex not expressly attributed to another author were to be attributed to Braulio. This principle was validly applied in only one work of the three he listed from the codex, namely, the *Vita S. Aemiliani*. The work on the apostles James, Peter, and Paul, which was found in the codex and which he ascribed to Braulio, can not be accepted as a seventh-century work. The traditions of Santiago in their literary form are of a definitely later date.³⁶ The third work which Antonio lists from the codex as possibly the composition of Braulio is *De vana saeculi sapientia*. This work is claimed on

³³ Cf. *supra*, p. 119.

³⁴ Antonio, *loc. cit.*; M. Risco, *España sagrada*, 30, 173-174; J. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis*, I, 253; A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, I, 547, and note 161 (p. 571).

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 227.

³⁶ Z. García Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, I, i, 47-65.

good authority for Braulio's countryman, Abbot Valerius of S. Petri de Montibus (630-695).³⁷

It was probably the influence of some such codex of the *Vitae patrum*, as the one just mentioned, which led to the ascription of the *Vita* of St. Vincent and his sisters, and that of St. Leocadia, to Braulio. Antonio tells us that a canon of the church of Toledo found the former *Life* ascribed to Braulio in a codex of that church. The codex was known as the *Smaragdinus*, but now seems to be untraceable. Pérez de Urbel calls it the codex *Smaragdus* and says it is now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid.³⁸ The old catalog of Loewe and Von Hartel does not identify this one among the many Toledan codices preserved there.³⁹ If this St. Vincent were the famous martyr and patron of Saragossa, there would be less reason for doubting Braulio's authorship. This St. Vincent and his sisters, however, were martyred at Avila in the persecution of Diocletian, and their bodies are still revered there. It is possible that the codex *Smaragdinus* contained the *Life* as it was copied from some older collection of *Vitae*, which collection was ascribed incorrectly, after the fashion of the *Vitae patrum* mentioned above, to Braulio. The same explanation may perhaps hold for the ascription of the *Vita* of St. Leocadia of Toledo to Braulio by C. Baronius in his *Martyrologium Romanum*, if this ascription were ever made by him. Fabricius recorded the attribution and gave as his authority Baronius *ad Martyrolog. 9 Dec.*⁴⁰ The second edition of this work, put out by Baronius himself, does not record the ascription.⁴¹

³⁷ The claim is made by Antonio himself and may be found along with the edition of Florez in *P.L.*, 87, 417, 425.

³⁸ "Braulio," *D.H.G.E.*, X, 451.

³⁹ Loewe-Hartel, "Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis," *Sitzungsberichte . . .*, 112 (1886), 689-737; Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, p. 477. Cf. also, P. Gams, *op. cit.*, I, 344.

⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.*

⁴¹ *Martyrologium romanum*, Antwerp, 1589, p. 539.

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS

Braulio is frequently credited with retouching Isidore's works. We have considered already the possibility that Braulio's first edition of the *Etymologies* had additions of a minor nature by him.⁴² Anspach has suggested the possibility that Braulio edited Isidore's *Chronicon* also, in the year 638, for we find one manuscript of the work with additions up to that year, whereas Isidore published it about 615.⁴³ In recent years it has been the custom of most authorities to ascribe nine chapters of Isidore's *De viris illustribus* to Braulio. We believe the first two ascriptions are possible, but not probable, and the third one impossible. Because of Braulio's rather exceptional scientific attitude, and his natural pride, it is likely that his catalog of Isidore's work would have given us such information had it been true. When he mentioned the *De viris illustribus*, he carefully told us that he was adding his *Praenotatio* to that work.⁴⁴ If he had added biographies also, he would have said so. In mentioning the *Etymologies*, he carefully told us that Isidore left it incomplete, and that he divided it into twenty books.⁴⁵ If he had completed it in any way he would have added this fact; as it is, the work is still incomplete.⁴⁶ In mentioning the *Chronicon*, he carefully told us that it included events from the beginning of the world up to Isidore's time.⁴⁷ If he had brought it up to his own time, we feel that he would have said so.

The possibility that Braulio wrote chapters of the *De viris illustribus* deserves further consideration. This work as it is now

⁴² Cf. *supra*, p. 49.

⁴³ *Taionis et Isidori nova fragmenta et opera*, p. 45, note 1.

⁴⁴ Cf. *supra*, p. 211.

⁴⁵ *Praenotatio*, *P.L.*, 81, 16 D: ... quamvis imperfectum ipse reliquerit, ego in viginti libros divisi.

⁴⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 49.

⁴⁷ *Praenotatio*, *ibid.*, C: Chronicorum a principio mundi usque ad tempus suum, librum unum, nimia brevitate collectum.

edited contains forty-six chapters.⁴⁸ Because of the manuscript tradition, there have always been two schools of thought as to Isidore's authorship.⁴⁹ The first thirteen chapters of the work are not found in some manuscripts, and so some authors ascribe these to a writer antedating Isidore. The most detailed study of the problem up to this time is by G. von Dzialowski, who decided that Isidore was the author of all the chapters.⁵⁰ F. Schütte, writing three years later (1902), disagreed with him, and brought forward a theory of triple authorship.⁵¹ The third author of the work was to be Braulio, who, in his opinion, wrote eight of the chapters.⁵² From his time to the present most writers on the subject have included Braulio with Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore, and Ildefonse, as an author of the *De viris illustribus*.⁵³ Only recently did Dom Lambert challenge Schütte's opinion, because of the brief notice accorded John of Biclar in Isidore's *De viris illustribus*.⁵⁴ If Braulio had written additional notices to the work, he would have added to Isidore's brief account of a man who Lambert believes was well known to Braulio. Dom Pérez de Urbel is even more opposed to the attribution, calling attention to the short notice given Maximus, Bishop of Saragossa, who certainly was known to Braulio.⁵⁵ This, moreover, is one of the notices which Schütte attributes to Braulio. A final and decisive refutation, however, has been given by H. Koeppler.⁵⁶ In a careful

⁴⁸ *P.L.*, 83, 1081-1106.

⁴⁹ The problem is treated comprehensively by H. Koeppler, "De viris illustribus and Isidore of Seville," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), 16-34.

⁵⁰ *Isidor und Ildefons als Litterarhistoriker*, pp. 101-102.

⁵¹ *Studien über den Schriftstellerkatalog des heiligen Isidor von Sevilla*, pp. 75-149.

⁵² Chapters 20, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37, 46.

⁵³ So Manitius, Bardenhewer, M. R. James, Séjourné, Rauschen-Altaner, Le Bras, Silva-Tarouca, Anspach, and De Aldama.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, col. 444.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-23. Koeppler is preparing a longer work on "The history of the literary form 'de viris illustribus.'"

study he shows that Schütte was misled by the manuscript that he was using, as regards the chapters ascribed to Braulio. Schütte believed that he was dealing with an exact copy of a manuscript, while, in reality, the copy contained but excerpts of the original. Koeppler, however, upholds him in his contention that the first thirteen chapters were written by someone prior to Isidore. Koeppler, finally, did not fail to notice that manuscripts which listed the *De viris illustribus cum additionibus S. Braulionis*, were but notifying the reader that the *Praenotatio* was added.

CHRONICLE AND EPITAPH OF MAXIMUS

Braulio's brother John succeeded Maximus as bishop of Saragossa. Braulio as a youth very probably knew Maximus, who held the see from c.599 to 619. Isidore in his *De viris illustribus* tells us that Maximus wrote "a little history of Visigothic times in Spain."⁵⁷ This chronicle has not come down to us. Early in the seventeenth century a Toledan ecclesiastic by the name of Jerome de la Higuera forged a work which is now known as the *Pseudo-Liutprand Chronicle* covering the years 430-960.⁵⁸ The first part of it covering the years 430-606 claimed to be the *Chronicle of Maximus* and became known as *Marci Maximi, episcopi Caesaraugustani, continuatio chronici Flavii Lucii Dextri*. The forgery was not very successful, for in 1651 the Cistercian, F. Bivar, bared the deceit of these *Falsos Cronicones*.⁵⁹ The work lived on, however, in some quarters, where local glory was enhanced by entries in the Chronicle. One forgery led to another, and hence it is that the University Library of Saragossa possesses a seventeenth-century manuscript entitled *Additiones S. Brauli-*

⁵⁷ Chapter 46, *P.L.*, 83, 1106: *Scripsit et brevi stylo historiolam de iis quae temporibus Gothorum in Hispaniis acta sunt,...*

⁵⁸ I. Godoy y Alcántara, *Historia crítica de los falsos Cronicones*, Madrid, 1868; G. Cirot, *Etudes sur l'historiographie espagnole. Mariana historien* (Paris, 1904), pp. 45-70; N. Antonio in *P.L.*, 136, 937, and 80, 645.

⁵⁹ F. Bivar, *Marci Maximi episcopi Caesaraugustani . . . continuatio chronici*, Madrid, 1651.

*onis ad chronicum Maximi.*⁶⁰ Whatever influence this false *Chronicle* attributed to Braulio has had is no longer felt.

It is surprising to find that Manitius and Raby accept from the *Falsos Cronicones*, despite the warning of Nicolas Antonio, an epitaph in honor of Maximus, attributed to Braulio.⁶¹ The epitaph consists of seven elegiac distichs of faulty meter. In it, as in the false chronicles, Maximus receives the cognomen Marcus, a name which he did not bear, if we are to judge by the contemporary evidence of subscriptions to the councils of his time and references to him in the *De viris illustribus* of Isidore and that of Ildefonse. In the epitaph, moreover, he is cited as a disciple of St. Benedict, which alone invalidates its authenticity.

OTHER PIECES

“The most beautiful poetical composition of Spain in the seventh century” is attributed to Braulio. It is the *Epitaphium Antonine* found in a ninth-century manuscript and edited by Fidel Fita.⁶² The attribution is made solely by Fita; the only other scholar who has studied the work is Pérez de Urbel, and he calls the ascription doubtful.⁶³ There seems to be no manuscript proof for it. It is based solely on the contents of the elegy, which reflect the sentiments and style of Braulio in his consolatory Letters, particularly Letter 19 to Hojo and Eutrocia. Fita believes that Antonina was the wife of Wistremirus, to whom Braulio sent a consolatory Letter on her death.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ M. Sancho Izquierdo, “Catálogo de los mss. de la Bibl. Univ. de Zaragoza,” *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos*, 3 época, 34 (1916), no. 21.

⁶¹ Antonio reprints the epitaph as found in Bivar, and Migne reprints it with Antonio’s comments in *P.L.*, 80, 613-614. Cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie*, p. 421; F. Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages*, I, 149.

⁶² “El papa Honorio I y San Braulio de Zaragoza,” *La Ciudad de Dios*, VI (1871), 427-429.—This article, and, consequently, the Epitaph, have not been used by the present writer. Cf. *supra*, p. 130, n. 25.

⁶³ “Braulio,” *D.H.G.E.*, X, 452. ⁶⁴ Letter 30. Cf. *supra*, p. 83.

Because Braulio wrote Letter 21 to Pope Honorius in the name of the Spanish episcopacy gathered together for the Sixth Council of Toledo, he is generally credited with having written the canons of that council, and the *Confessio Judaeorum*, both of which were sent to Rome along with the Letter.⁶⁵ At the same time King Chintila sent a pallium to the Pope, as a gift for the altar of St. Peter. This decoration had an inscription worked into it consisting of two elegiac distichs which recorded the occasion of the gift.⁶⁶ We may propose Braulio as the possible author of the verses.

In the year 1105 the library of St. Remaclus, at the abbey of Stavelot, in what is now Belgium, was catalogued. The catalog is now found in MS Add. 28106 of the British Museum.⁶⁷ The seventy-second entry in the catalog reads: *Braulion. super psalterium.* We have no other evidence that Braulio wrote a commentary on the psalms. The reference is certainly to the Braulio we are studying, because of the rarity of the name, and because the only five works of Isidore which the catalog records are found immediately following the reference to Braulio. Since there are 283 entries in the catalog, this is significant. It is possible that we have here a reference to the commentary on the Psalter which the *Abbreviatio* attributes to Isidore, a fragment of which Anspach believes he has found.⁶⁸ Braulio's name, instead of Isidore's, may have become attached to it in some inexplicable way.

⁶⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 130.

⁶⁶ H. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, I, i, 329. G. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianaes urbis Romae VII^o saeculo antiquiores*, II, 254; H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, I, 87:

Discipulis cunctis Domini praelatus amore,
Dignus apostolico primus honore coli.
Sancte, tuis, Petre meritis haec munera supplex
Chintila rex offert. Pande salutis opem.

⁶⁷ Folio 228b. Cf. T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, pp. 284, 286.

⁶⁸ Cf. Anspach, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 117.

CONCLUSION

THE primary object of this dissertation has been to evaluate the part that St. Braulio played in the comparatively remarkable culture of Visigothic Spain in the seventh century by a thorough study of his writings as they reflect both his life and his times.

The sum of our findings justifies the statement that he was second only to Isidore in the influence that he exerted on his contemporaries in Spain. He had the advantage of springing from an illustrious Hispano-roman family which had become closely allied to noble Visigothic stock. The family had its roots in north-eastern Spain, but whether Osma, Gerona, or Saragossa was his birthplace we can not say. Certain it is that a formative period in his life was spent with St. Isidore in distant Seville. A close friendship of the two resulted in Braulio's earliest correspondence, and in a study of these Letters we were able to add not only to our knowledge of Braulio, but likewise of Isidore; in particular, we have, it is hoped, thrown new light on the much discussed problem of the writing of the *Etymologies*. After acting as arch-deacon under his brother, Bishop John of Saragossa, Braulio succeeded to the see in 631 and soon displayed the qualities of leadership, which, after the death of Isidore in 636, placed him high in the councils of Church and State, a position which he held until his death in 651.

To his Letters we owe all our information on his various friendships with kings, ecclesiastics, nobles, and members of his family. In them we find him soothing the afflicted, encouraging those who have taken up the monastic life, directing his former students who turn to him, as well as total strangers who write to him for aid. They testify to the respectful firmness with which he speaks to the kings and in one case even to the pope.

To his Letters also we owe our information on his varied interests: theology, liturgy, Scripture, monasticism, statecraft, books, and literary pursuits. Since he has left no treatise on any one of these subjects, our knowledge of his interest in them had to be gleaned from his correspondence. A study of the passages on theology has shown that, contrary to the opinion of most authorities on the subject, there is no justification for believing that Braulio referred to the administration of the sacrament of confirmation by a priest. Important references in Braulio and Isidore to *chrisma*, or anointing with oil, concern the post-baptismal anointing and not confirmation. It seems very probable that Braulio made numerous contributions to Mozarabic liturgy, but it was necessary to point out that his *Life of St. Emilian* and *Hymn* in honor of the same saint are the only ones known. We found that he was thoroughly familiar with the Bible and quoted it with unusual facility, but that he attempted no original exegesis of it. Following the examples of his brothers and sisters he showed great interest in monasticism, though the evidence does not permit us to say that he fostered any monastic rule in particular, unless it was Isidore's *Regula*. Lambert's theory that he and his family were promoters of the *Rule* of John of Biclar received no added support from this study. Especially important as an indication of his interest in the religious life is his *Vita S. Aemiliani* together with the prefatory Letter addressed to Abbot Fronimian. In the *Life* and Letter is found just about all the information we possess on St. Emilian, whose foundation, the Monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, has been a source of spiritual force and culture for Spain up to this very day. It was in the analysis of Braulio's hagiographical work, moreover, that we noticed in particular his aptitude for scientific method and order.

In the field of statecraft we assembled the evidence which may be produced for the tribute frequently paid to him in the past of being a most important promoter of civil and ecclesiastical legis-

lation in this period. While not denying the indirect proofs of his influence on canonical legislation, we were forced to indicate a complete lack of direct evidence for the traditional statement that he fathered and even wrote the acts of any one Toledan council. On the other hand, strong testimony was produced in favor of his influence in the drawing up of the civil code of laws called the *Forum judicum*.

We found that one of his most ardent pursuits, a very exceptional hobby for his day, was an enthusiasm for books, Christian and profane. He frequently exhibited in his Letters a knowledge of authors of both types, and he was untiring in his efforts to have correspondents send him manuscripts which he did not possess. A careful consideration of his library enables us to offer a conservative list of the works found in it. Manuscripts were copied in his *scriptorium*, but apparently in small number.

In making a detailed study of the life and interests of Braulio, the corpus of his Letters was for the first time thoroughly combed, and many passages were made available in translation. Persons and places were identified as exactly as possible to provide valuable information for the future student of the period. The identifications were enhanced in value by an attempt at dating each Letter in the corpus. This was made feasible by the fact that the unique manuscript of Braulio's collected Letters, the Leon MS 22, seems to be not, as has been generally supposed, a haphazard collection of model letters, but a chronological arrangement of his most important correspondence, so carefully drawn up that a supposition attributing the order to Braulio or one close to him appears valid.

The *Praenotatio librorum D. Isidori* is the best known and perhaps the most important of Braulio's works, containing as it does his eulogy of Isidore and a precious catalog of Isidore's writings. It has so long been the object of critical attention that the present study could add little to the knowledge of it. Collected information on the literary history of the work has, however, been pre-

sented for the first time. Though most scholars admit one exception or another to a strict chronological order in the catalog, there seems to be no necessity for doing so. The practice of using the so-called *Abbreviatio Braulii de vita S. Isidori* in identifying further works of Isidore has little to recommend it. It is admitted by all to be an interpolated form of the *Praenotatio* and appears to be no older than the twelfth century.

A number of other writings have at some time or other been attributed to Braulio. The problems of their authenticity have been treated and no single one of these works can at present be accepted as certainly from the pen of Braulio. There remains, however, a possibility that he wrote the *Acta de martyribus Caesaraugstanis*. Braulio was certainly not the author of the chapters in Isidore's *De viris illustribus* which are frequently attributed to him. Though he was the most prominent Spanish churchman of the period, there seem to be no valid grounds for assuming that he composed the acts of the Toledan councils attended by him. Four other *Acta* and a moral work would seem to have been attributed to Braulio, not because of his literary fame, but because of an accidental juxtaposition in the manuscripts with his *Vita S. Aemiliani*.

Throughout this study glimpses of the personality and sanctity of Braulio were evident. The Letters reveal the man, his character, his tastes, his abilities, and his limitations, but by no means in their entirety. Unfortunately we have practically no information on the manner in which he administered his diocese, or on his relations with the lower strata of society. If any letters were written concerning these matters, they have not been preserved. It is manifest, particularly from the Letters written to him, that Braulio was considered to be a leader in the thought and action of his day. There is no indication, however, that the respect which his contemporaries showed him resulted in arrogance or abnormal pride in the man. In fact, his deference to the opinions of others is quite marked. Two traits that are notice-

ably absent from his writings are optimism and lightheartedness. The former is found only in his contemplations of life after death, and the latter appears just once in an early Letter to Tajo. He nowhere praises the past; he frequently despairs of the present; and he thinks that the end of the "aging world" is at hand.

Braulio's piety is amply displayed in his Letters. It is Christocentric for the most part and finds its most frequent expression in a devotion to the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. There is some devotion to the saints, and a tremendous respect for the Bible, the traditions of the Fathers, and the ancient canons. The common opinion that Braulio was a great ascetic and that his writings are ascetical can not be admitted. Any attempt to establish a formal asceticism from his writings will be disappointing. There are, however, many passages in the Letters and especially in the *Vita S. Aemiliani* which indicate that Braulio had often meditated on and knew well the hardships and the rewards of the spiritual life. In them a strong desire for his own personal sanctification is manifest, and it seems evident that only the meagerness of the source material and the natural disinclination of a writer to speak of his own piety deny us a picture of Braulio's deeply spiritual life. On some points he is a very practical and prudent spiritual adviser: on the monastic life and its discipline, on the necessity of special graces for the higher life, and on the importance of disdaining this life for the glory of the next. This last thought is the dominant one in his many consolatory Letters, which constitute perhaps the best evidence of his sanctity, disclosing as they do an intense love of God and a charity for the afflicted which reflects a pastoral devotion to duty. There are no signs of a cult in his honor until the twelfth century.

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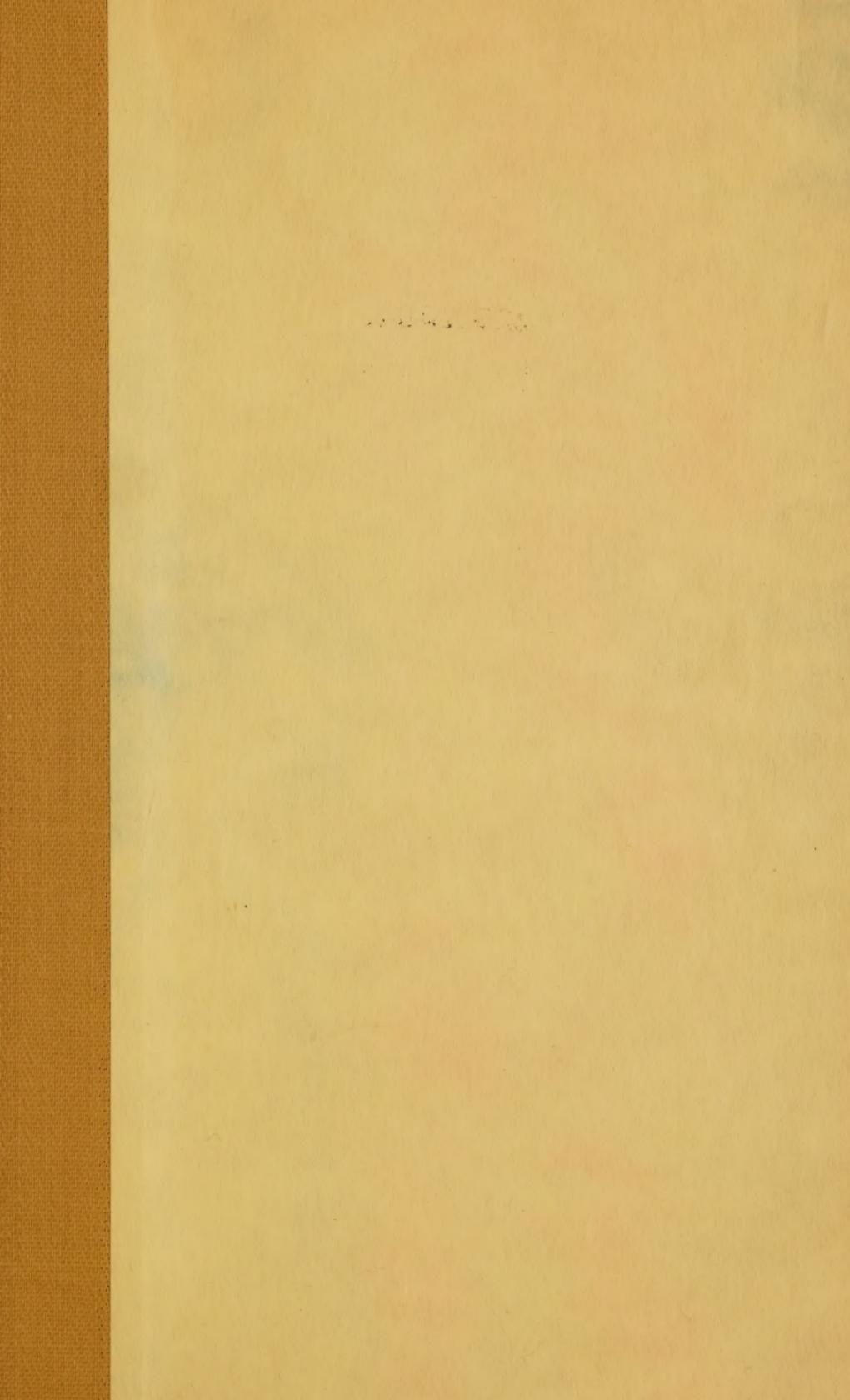
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